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A SERIES OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
FROM FOREIGN ARCHIVES

VOLUME I

ATHANASE DE MÉZIÈRES
AND THE
LOUISIANA-TEXAS FRONTIER
1768-1780

DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME, FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH AND FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS, CHIEFLY IN THE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO AND SPAIN; TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH; EDITED AND ANNOTATED, BY

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, PH.D.
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VOLUME I

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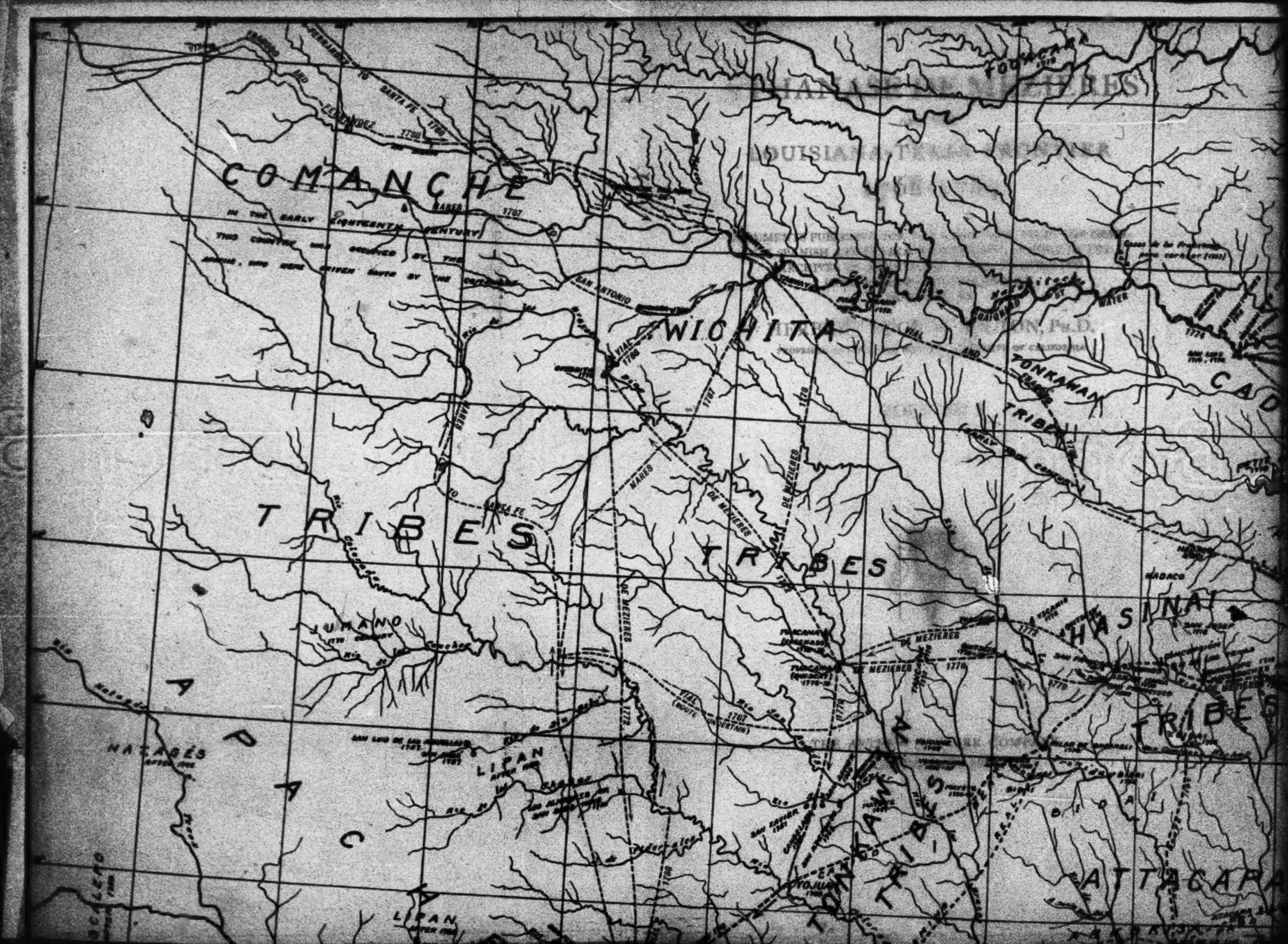
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FERNANDEZ 1788
MARES 1787
SAN ANTONIO
WICHITA
VIAL 1788
VIAL AND
TONKAWAN TRIBES
FOUCHARA
CAD
TRIBES
TRIBES
DE MEZIERES
MARES
TO SANTA FE
HASINAI
NADACO
TRIBES
JUMANO
NATAGÉS
APACHE
LIPAN
LIPAN
VIAL (ROUTE UNCERTAIN) 1787
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BIDAI
ATTACAPA
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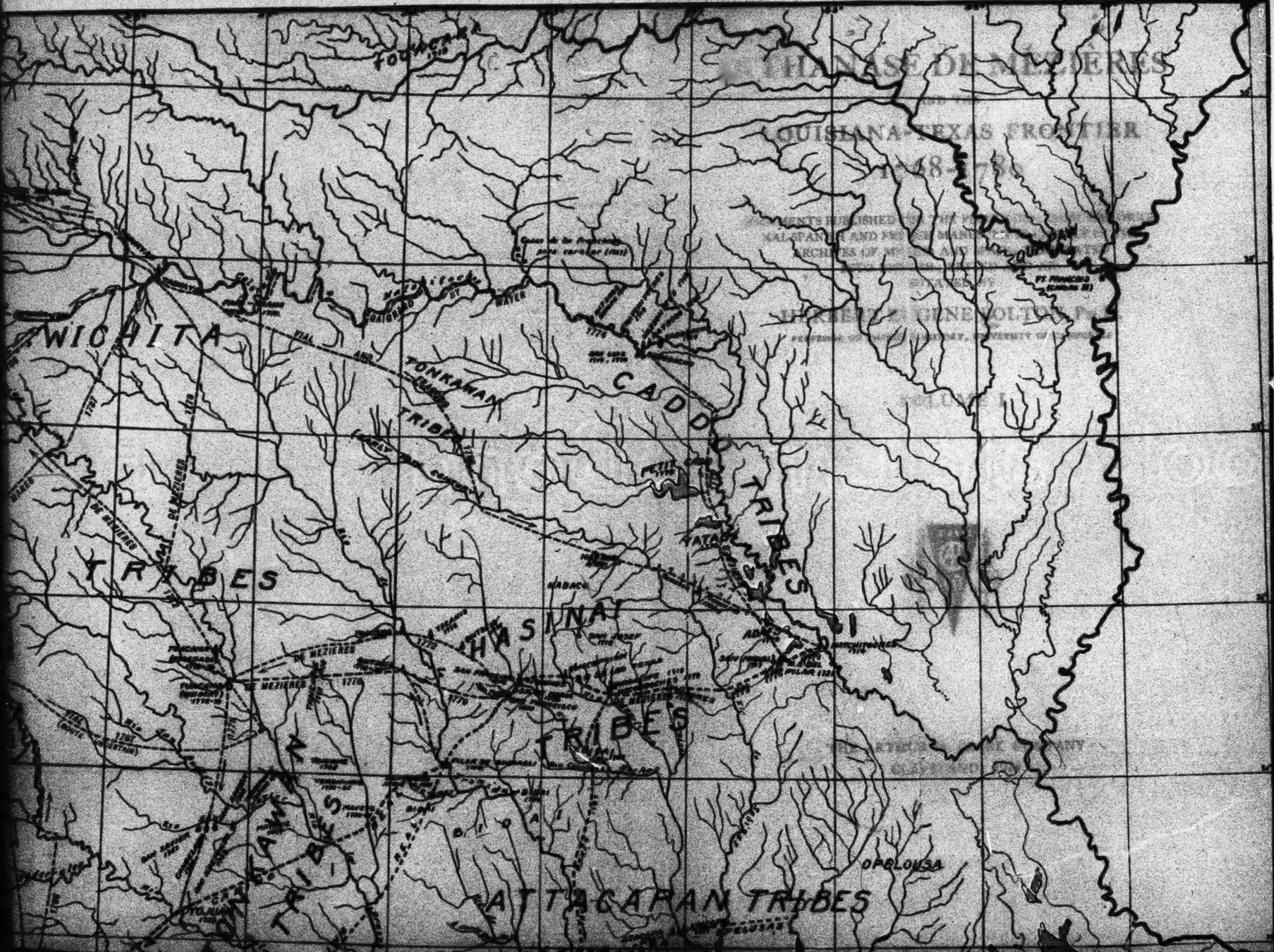
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CADDO TRIBES
HASINAI TRIBES
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ATTACAPAN TRIBES
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FT. FRANCOIS (CARLOS III)
NATCHITOCHES
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PILAR
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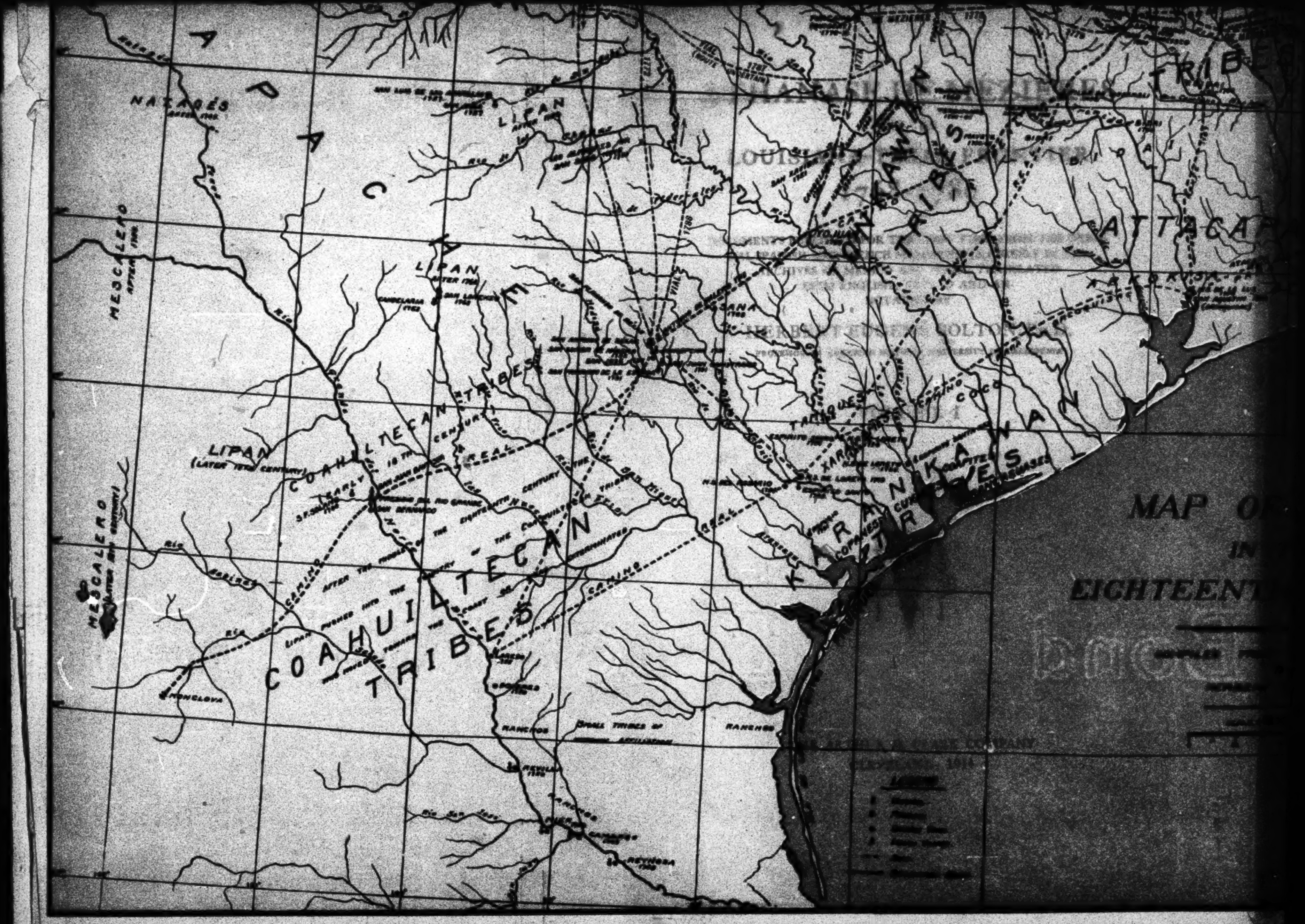
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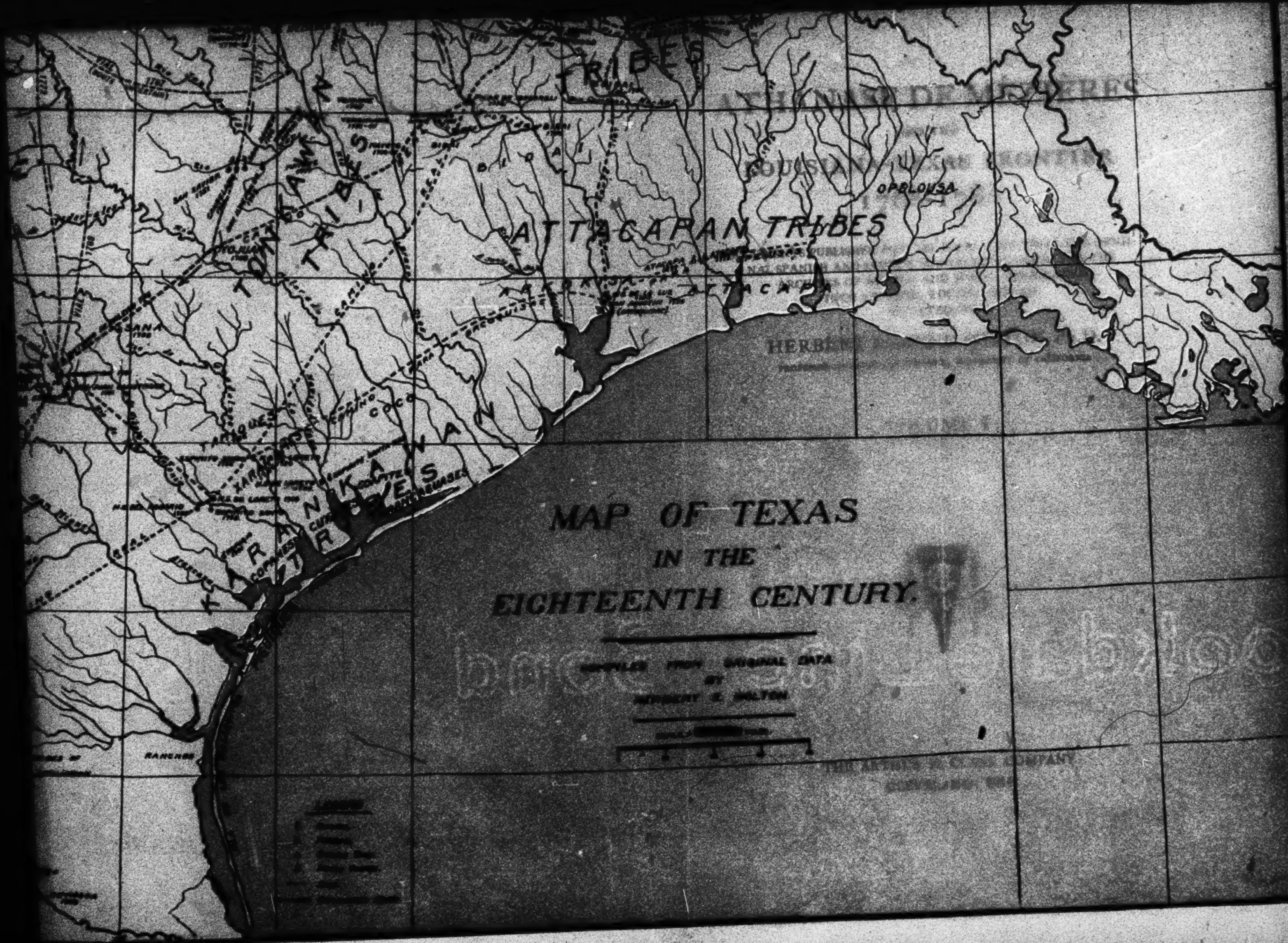

MAP OF TEXAS
IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL DATA
BY
HERBERT E. BOLTON
TRIBES
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ATTACAPAN TRIBES
KARANKAWAN TRIBES
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RANCHOS

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TO GERTRUDE

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PREFACE

It is no small satisfaction to be able to bring forth from an unmerited obscurity a man who was useful and even distinguished in his day and way, and to make his services known again in the land where he wrought. Athanase de Mézières y Clugny, the author, the recipient, or the central figure of the documents here published, was for years the foremost Indian agent and diplomat of the Louisiana-Texas frontier. He alone, perhaps, of the Louisiana Frenchmen of the second half of the eighteenth century is comparable in this respect with Saint Denis of the first half. It was he above all others who, in the capacity of lieutenant-governor of Louisiana, established the Spanish rule in the Red River Valley. And yet he has been done scant justice by history, for the reason, it would seem that, through the political changes and vicissitudes of the Southwest, the records of his services have been lost to view and his work, in consequence, forgotten; for, indeed, historians have barely mentioned his name.

But to record the activities of De Mézières is not the primary aim of publishing his letters and reports. Of greater interest than the man is the wealth of historical information which his papers contain. The history of the French and Spanish régimes in Texas and Louisiana is to a large extent the history of an Indian policy, in its various aspects; and for light on the Indian affairs of what are now Texas, western Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma during the period between 1768 and 1780, and on the problems of Indian control in that period, as well as on the establishment of Spanish rule in western Louisiana, there is perhaps no other single group of documents in existence so important as the correspondence and reports of De Mézières here published.

These writings of De Mézières, taken together with the related correspondence of the governors and missionaries of Louisiana and Texas, the commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, and the viceroy of New Spain, reveal in a way impossible to learn from any other available source the all-absorbing nature of the task of controlling the Nations of the North (the tribes inhabiting the vast region lying on both sides of the Red River) on the one hand, and the more dreaded Apache of western Texas on the other; the importance of the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in its effects upon the administration of her frontier provinces; the jealousy which continued to exist between French Louisiana and Spanish Texas long after the two colonies had become subject to one crown; and the way in which, in spite of this jealousy, Spain felt compelled to abdicate to French agents and French traders the control of the Nations of the North, as the only means of maintaining these tribes as a makeweight against the Apache and the only guaranty against complete destruction of the frontier settlements by the combined hostility of both. To this enumeration of values should be added the great wealth of data for the ethnology and the historical geography of the region concerned. Perhaps the best illustration of the importance of these reports of De Mézières is found in the fact that till the end of the eighteenth century at least, they were the chief reliance of the governments at Chihauhua, Mexico, and Madrid for information concerning the geography, ethnology, and Indian politics of the northeastern frontier of New Spain. In short, they became a sort of statesman's text-book for the region. And yet they have hitherto remained unpublished and almost unknown to scholars.

No attempt has been made to publish here all the obtainable writings of, to, or about De Mézières, only such being included as relate primarily to his services after he became a Spanish subject through the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1762. Nor could all of such available be included, and selection has not been the least of the editor's tasks. The major portion of the documents have been gathered from the archives of Mexico and Spain, a fact which illustrates the great importance of those archives for the early history of the Southwest. Several papers not found in Mexico or Spain, however, were obtained from the Bancroft Collection at the University of California, the British Museum, and the Béxar Archives at the University of Texas. The collection of *Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba*, at Seville, was found to be especially rich in original manuscripts throwing light on the Louisiana side of the Louisiana-Texas frontier, and in this way to supplement the view which had formerly been gained from the archives of Mexico and Spain. Materials for the early career of De Mézières were found in the archives of France, while a small amount of information was secured from Louisiana.

Acknowledgments are due especially to Mr. Roscoe R. Hill for providing me with the necessary bibliographical data regarding the contents of the group of papers in Seville named above, and for supervising the making of my transcripts from that collection. Thanks are due to Mr. Colin B. Goodykoontz, Mr. W. E. Dunn, and Mrs. Beatrice Quijada Cornish for valued assistance in compiling the work; to Professor F. J. Teggart, Mr. Hill, Mr. Goodykoontz, and Mr. Thomas Maitland Marshall for reading the "Introduction"; and to Professor W. A. Merrill for aid with the Latin passages.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

Berkeley, California, April, 1913.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

THE INDIAN IN THE HISTORY OF THE LOUISIANA-TEXAS FRONTIER, 1685-1780

In order to understand conditions on the northeastern frontier of New Spain and the southwestern frontier of Louisiana during the period following the transfer of the latter to Spain, which is the principal theme of the documents here published, one must have a correct general notion of the distribution, movements, and interrelations of the various native groups of the same region and of the nature of the contact of the Spaniards and the French with these groups and with each other in relation to these groups before the period covered. To provide such an historical background is the purpose of the brief sketch constituting this Introduction and of the accompanying map.

While some of the facts involved in this sketch are well known to specialists in the field, many others have not been available; moreover, it is hoped that the survey here presented from the standpoint of the different tribal confederacies will serve to make more clear than has ever yet been shown the importance of these groups as separate factors in the unfolding, and consequently in the interpretation, of the history of the area and period concerned.[1]

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[1] Documentary sources for the organization, distribution, and early history of the tribes treated in this sketch are still largely in manuscript form. For the tribes of eastern Texas and western Louisiana, and the relations of the French with them during the eighteenth century, much is to be found, of course, in Margry's *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans L'ouest et dans*

The Native Tribes of Texas and western Louisiana in the eighteenth century

When at the close of the seventeenth century the Spaniards and the French came face to face on the Louisiana-Texas frontier in a contest for commerce and empire, they found there several well marked groups or confederacies of native tribes, which, sooner or later, became so many bases for the struggle. Viewed from the standpoint of their geographical relation to the Spanish possessions, they represented two broad divisions, an outer and an inner, which in relation to international politics were respectively of primary and secondary importance. The frontier groups formed a great arc extending from the Karankawa on the Gulf coast eastward through the Arkokisa and Bidai to the Hasinai and the Caddo, and then westward through the Tonkawa and Wichita to the Apache (later to the Comanche) of the upper Red and Arkansas Rivers. Farther north and

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le Sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, though it is to be noted that some of the documents printed in the latter work are far from being faithful copies of the originals. Indeed this charge has been made against some of Margry's. The guide to the principal archives of France being prepared for the Carnegie Institution of Washington by Mr. W. G. Leland will doubtless bring to light a great store of sources for the subject hitherto not generally known or available. For documentary material relating to the tribal history of most of the tribes of Texas and to their early relations with the Europeans, recourse must be had in the main to the archives of Mexico, Spain, and Texas. A collection of perhaps twenty-five thousand sheets of transcripts of documents in these archives has been made by the present writer and is now in his possession. Some results of a study of the early Texas tribes made within recent years in the archives of Mexico and Texas have appeared in Part II of *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin*, no. 30, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, 1910) and others are printed in various articles in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*. Though no attempt will be made in this brief sketch to furnish a complete bibliography, special sources of information will be cited in connection with the different points discussed. Most of the Spanish manuscripts here cited are transcripts in the author's private collection, which will be referred to as B. Mss.

west, on the New Mexico – Louisiana frontier, were the Jumano, of the Arkansas, and the Pawnee, of the region south of the Platte. The inner division lay between this cordon of frontier groups and the Rio Grande. In the sketch which follows the groups will be described in a geographical order, but the contest for the control of the separate divisions will be considered in an order determined in general by historical developments rather than by geographical location.[2]

THE KARANKAWA. The region embracing the Gulf coast and the littoral islands from Galveston Bay to and perhaps beyond the mouth of the San Antonio River was the home of the Karankawan tribes, who occupied from the first a peculiar position on the frontier between France and Spain. Though there were numerous petty subdivisions of this group, its principal tribes (using the most common Spanish forms of the names) were the Cujanes, Carancaguasas, Guapites or Coapites, Cocos, and Copanes. They were closely interrelated, and all apparently spoke dialects of the same language, which was different from that of their neighbors farther inland. Unless the Coahuiltecan tribes be excepted, these Karankawa represented perhaps the lowest grade of native society in all Texas. They were fierce cannibals, were frequently at war with the interior tribes, and were from their first contact with the Europeans to the end of the Spanish régime regarded as particularly dangerous to mariners on that perilous coast, not a few of whom succumbed to their savage attacks.[3]

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[2] Contrary to the commonly accepted opinion that Texas, on the coming of the Europeans, was inhabited by roving tribes, without fixed habitat, it is a fact that, with the exception of the southward migration of the Wichita and Comanche, and of the retreat of the Lipan before the last-named tribe, the larger Texas groups were relatively stable all through the eighteenth century. Thus, the Caddo, the Hasinai, the Bidai, the Arkokisa, and the Karankawa, were to be found at the end of the eighteenth century in essentially the same places where they had been encountered at the end of the seventeenth or at the opening of the eighteenth. It might be said that the eastern Texas tribes were relatively stable, while in western Texas there was a general movement southward.

THE BIDAI, ARKOKISA, AND ATTACAPA. Lying to the eastward and northeastward of the Karankawa and on the Louisiana-Texas frontier, were the tribes occupying the region between the Hasinai Confederacy and the Gulf coast. They were, principally, the Bidai, Arkokisa, and Deadoses, who lived on either side of the lower Trinity, and farther east, the Attacapa, on the lower Neches and Sabine and to the eastward thereof. These tribes, formerly but no longer thought to be Caddoan, were of somewhat higher advancement than the Karankawa, were all closely associated with one another, and were evidently kin.[4]

THE HASINAI. West of the Sabine River, on the Angelina and the upper Neches, was the compact Hasinai [Asinai, Cenis, Texas] Confederacy, consisting of some ten or more tribes, of which the best known were the

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[3] For the Karankawan tribes see Gatschet, "The Karankawa Indians" [Peabody Museum, *Archæological and Ethnological Papers*, vol. i, no. 2, 1891]; Bolton, "The Founding of Mission Rosario," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. x, 113-139. References to the ill fate of shipwrecked mariners among the cannibals of this coast, beginning with the Cabeza de Vaca party, in 1528, are frequent in the annals of Texas and Louisiana clear down to the nineteenth century.

[4] A great addition to our knowledge of this group of tribes has been made by the present writer's study of hitherto unused manuscript sources relative to the activities of the Spaniards on the lower Trinity and on the San Xavier River in the eighteenth century, and by the work of Dr. John R. Swanton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, upon the tribes of western Louisiana. The results of Dr. Swanton's work are published in his *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico* [Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin*, no. 43, Washington, 1911]. For information relative to the Bidai-Arkokisa groups I am particularly indebted to the manuscript thesis of Miss Elise D. Brown (now Mrs. Lane), one of my former students at the University of Texas. My researches have determined the linguistic affiliation of the Bidai, Deadoses, and Arkokisa with each other, and of the Mayeye with the Tonkawa.

Hainai, Nacogdoche, Nebedache, Nasoni, and Nadaco. None of the tribes lived as far west as the Trinity River.[5] The Hasinai were a settled people, who apparently had been long in the place where they were found at the end of the seventeenth century, and where they remained with little geographical change throughout the eighteenth. They lived in scattered agricultural villages, in large conical, communal, grass lodges, and raised relatively extensive crops of maize, beans, calabashes, and sunflowers. This food was supplemented by wild vegetable products, small game, bear, and deer from the woods near by, and by buffalo from the prairies beyond the Brazos.[6]

THE CADDO. Another group, the Caddo, as it is now called, extended along both banks of the Red River from the lower Natchitoches tribe,[7] in the vicinity of the present Louisiana city of this name, to the Natsoos and Nassonites tribes, above the great bend of the Red River in southwestern Arkansas and southeastern Oklahoma. The best known members of this group were the Cadodacho [Kadohadacho, Grand Cado], or Caddo proper, Petit Cado, upper and lower Natchitoches, Adaes, Yatasí, Nassonites, and Natsoos.[8]

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[5] This statement is made necessary by the persistent following of old writers, who supposed that the Cenis lived on the Trinity. See, for example, as the latest instance, Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, vol. i, 95. The same author is very much confused regarding the Texas and the Cenis, apparently thinking them distinct [*ibid.*, 95, 99].

[6] For a brief sketch of the Hasinai group of tribes, with a discussion of the meaning and usage of the names "Texas" and "Hasinai," see Bolton: "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. xi, 249-276. The best single original source for the early Hasinai is the unpublished manuscript "Relación" of Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María, written in 1691 at the mission of Santísimo Nombre de María, on the Neches River. It bears the date of August 15, 1691. A sketch of the civilization of these tribes, based mainly on this *Relación* is that by Mrs. Lee C. Harby, in the American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 63-82. It gives a fair summary of the document, but a very imperfect notion of its bearing. Articles by Bolton on the different Hasinai tribes, as on most of the tribes hereinafter mentioned, will be found in *Handbook of American Indians*.

[7] The existence of an upper Natchitoches tribe living near the great bend of the Red River, distinct from the lower Natchitoches living at the site of the city of Natchitoches, is commonly overlooked (see Fletcher, in *Handbook of American Indians*, part ii), but its existence is thoroughly established by numerous sources. Indeed, a failure to recognize it has led to much confusion regarding the route of the De Soto party west of the Mississippi River.

The Caddo and the Hasinai, both divisions of the great Caddoan linguistic stock, were similar in culture and spoke nearly or quite the same language. The Ais tribe, which lay between the Caddo and the Hasinai groups, though somewhat distinct from either, ethnologists believe, in the main shared the history of the latter. The traditional enemy of the Caddo and the Hasinai were the Osage, of the Arkansas and Osage Rivers, and the Apache of the west. Hostility between these groups continued to the end of the eighteenth century, and even later, and was a constant factor in the policy of tribal balance alike pursued by France and Spain.

THE TONKAWAN TRIBES. Occupying a wide range in east-central and northeastern Texas in the middle of the eighteenth century were the Tonkawa and related bands. Just what their early range had been is not known with certainty, but it evidently extended farther north than in later days. What were apparently the Tonkawa and Yojuane were encountered in 1719 by Du Rivage on the Red River seventy leagues above the Cadodacho, while at the same period tribes seemingly Tonkawan were living in central Texas near the Colorado. Their range may have been between these points. In the middle of the eighteenth century the best known divisions of the group were usually found between the Colorado and the Trinity Rivers, chiefly above the *Camino Real* leading from San Antonio to Los Adaes. In the earlier days there had lived on either side of the Colorado below the *Camino Real* a number of minor tribes, perhaps also of Tonkawan stock; but by 1750 most of them had disappeared, leaving as the principal divisions of the stock the Tonkawa, Yojuane, Mayeye, and the highly mixed band of the Yerbipiame, or Ervipiame. These tribes were wanderers, who planted few crops, but lived upon the buffalo and small game. Sometimes hostile to the Hasinai and Wichita groups, they were usually ready to join them against the dread Apache, their all-too-close neighbors on the west.[9]

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[8] See Mooney, "Caddo and Associated Tribes," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Fourteenth Annual Report*; and Fletcher, the article under "Caddo" in *Handbook of American Indians*, part i. These articles were written largely on the basis of English sources and of recent conditions and traditions among the Caddo, and without the knowledge of their early history that has since come to light through a study of the Spanish sources, hence the failure of the authors to distinguish with sufficient clearness the Hasinai and the Caddo.

THE WICHITA. As the veil of the unknown was gradually lifted from the district farther north and west, there emerged into view, first on the Canadian River and later on the upper Red,[10] Brazos, and Trinity Rivers, another group of Caddoan tribes, known to the Spaniards of New Mexico as Jumano and to the French as Panipiquet or Panis, but now collectively called by ethnologists the Wichita. Of these tribes the best known to the Spaniards were the Taovayas and Wichita, who habitually lived, after they came distinctly into view, on the upper Brazos, the Wichita, and the upper Red Rivers; and southeast of these, the Tawakoni, the Yscanis, and the Kichai, on the Brazos and the Trinity. During the period between 1770 and 1780 a portion of the Panis-Mahas, or Skidi, disturbed it is believed by the Louisiana cession and the movements of the Osage, came south from the Missouri River and settled with the Taovayas, where they remained until the nineteenth century.

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[9] For the Tonkawan tribes, see especially Bolton, in *Handbook of American Indians* under "Tonkawa," "Yojuane," "Mayeye," and "Sana."

[10] See page 45.

The civilization of the Wichita was essentially like that of the Caddo and the Hasinai, though they were more warlike, less fixed in their habitat, and more barbarous, even practicing cannibalism extensively. While they spoke a Caddoan dialect or dialects, their language was considerably distinct from that of the Hasinai and the Caddo. The three groups were closely allied, and had as common enemies, on the one hand, the Apache of the west, and, on the other, the Osage of the north.[11]

THE APACHE AND THE COMANCHE. The greater portion of western Texas was the home first of the Apache, a name which included various rather distinct nations, and later of the Apache and the Comanche, the latter nation also being subdivided into various bands. Though these two peoples were quite distinct, were the bitterest of enemies, and bore quite different relations to frontier history, yet, because of their close historical and geographical relations to each other, for present purposes they can best be described together. Till after the opening of the eighteenth century the Apache tribes, especially the Lipan, regarded as their own the territory from the upper Nueces and Medina Rivers to the upper Red and Colorado, while their range between summer and winter might cover many hundred miles. But now the Comanche, an off-shoot of the Shoshoni of Wyoming, appeared in the north. About 1700 they reached New Mexico and the Panhandle country. Next they attacked the Apache and crowded them southward, destroying the extensive Apache settlements of southwestern Kansas, and occupying the northern Apache lands themselves. To mark the beginning of the southward advance, later Spanish writers tell of a terrible defeat which the Lipan-Apache had met early in the eighteenth century at the hands of the Comanche in a nine days' battle on the Rio del Fierro, a stream which seems to have been the Wichita River. By the middle of the century the more usual haunts of the Lipan were the districts about the San Sabá River, in west central Texas, while the upper Colorado, Brazos, and Red Rivers were in the hands of the Comanche. At this time the Carlanes, who early in the century had lived in southwestern Kansas, the Chilpaines, Palomas, Pelones, Faraones, and Natagés, were all living southeastward from Santa Fé in what are now eastern New Mexico and western Texas. The Comanche continued to press their retreating enemy southward, and by 1777 the Lipan were living on both sides of the Rio Grande, while the Mescalero had retreated to the Bolsón de Mapimí, in Coahuila. The statements of Yoakum and others, to the effect that the habitat of the Comanche and the Apache on the eve of Spanish occupation was near the Rio Grande and the Gulf coast, are entirely unwarranted by the early records.[12]

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[11] See article on "Wichita" in *Handbook of American Indians*, and authorities therein cited.

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[12] Cabello, *Informe . . . sobre pazes de los Apaches Lipánes en la Colonia del Nuevo Santander*, 1784 [B. Mss.]. Lafora's map (1771) shows Rio del Fierro. The name (River of the Iron) suggests the worshipped meteorite mentioned by De Mézières in 1772 in that region. The best and almost the sole study of the Apache of western Texas is the thesis of Mr. W. E. Dunn, one of my students in Leland Stanford Jr. University, on "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750" printed in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, in 1910. While he found Cabello's *Informe* useful, he also found it to contain numerous errors.

Powell's map of the "Linguistic Families of American Indians North of Mexico" (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Seventh Annual Report*) on the first contact with Europeans, shows the Shoshonean stock, with the Comanche in mind, no doubt, to extend south below Austin, Texas. This is very erroneous, The Apache was a veritable Ishmael of the plains, for his hand was against every man and every man's hand was against him. As far back as history reaches, his nation was hostile to most of the preceding groups of tribes, as well as to those along the whole Rio Grande from El Paso to its mouth. Indeed, the word "Texas," in its broader sense, seems to have signified among the eastern tribes the common enemy of the Apache [Sadammo, Cannecy], and to have included fifty or more tribes. As an illustration of this widespread hostility to the Apache it may be noted that Joseph Urrutia, who lived with the Indians of eastern and central Texas from 1693 to about 1700, claimed, perhaps with exaggeration, to have more than once led ten thousand or more allies against this common enemy.[13] But the Apache, in their long sweeping raids into the territory of the eastern tribes and into the Spanish settlements, usually repaid with good interest all injuries received.

While of the Texas and Louisiana tribes it was principally these groups on the northeastern frontier of Texas that furnished questions of international interest, as between France and Spain, they were by no means the only ones that occupied the attention of the provincial, or even of the national, officials. Because of intertribal alliances and hostilities and of the field which they offered to French traders, both Spanish and French policy with regard to the more important frontier

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for it was well into the eighteenth century before the Comanche lived, or even ranged habitually, as far south as that. Yoakum [in Wooten, *Comprehensive History of Texas*, vol. i, 10-11] says "They occupied the Rio Grande as low as the mouth of the Salado, and raided the colonies of Pánuco, El Paso, Monclova, and Monterrey." This was not true until very late in the eighteenth century, if at all. The Lipan he pictures as living in the later seventeenth century with the Karankawa, along the coast from the Rio Grande to the lower Brazos and Colorado Rivers. This is as incorrect as the foregoing opinion regarding the Comanche.

[13] See Urrutia's letters cited in *footnote* 27.

groups at all times involved a consideration of those of the Spanish interior, while to the Spaniards these latter were a constant factor of internal politics and missionary development.

THE COAHUILTECAN TRIBES. At the end of the seventeenth century the Spaniards found between the lower San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande Rivers a remarkably large number of small and weak tribes, now called collectively Coahuiltecan, or Pakwan, from the common language which many of them spoke. In the earlier years of Spanish contact they extended from the coast inland to and beyond the *Camino Real*, or public highway, leading from San Antonio to the mission of San Juan Bautista, below modern Eagle Pass. Within this area some seventy different tribal or subtribal divisions have been identified by the present writer. Among them some of the more prominent were the Xarame, Pampopa, Pacoa, Payaya, Aguastayas, Pacuache, Ocana, Papanac, Pastaloca, and Patzau. These were the tribes or bands that furnished the bulk of the neophytes for the San Antonio and Rio Grande missions. But by the middle of the eighteenth century many of the bands had become much reduced or had entirely disappeared, exhausted by smallpox, measles, and the drain made by the missions. Soon after this date, the Lipan, the great Apache division of whom the Coahuiltecan tribes stood in mortal dread, crowded southward into the original territory of the Coahuiltecos and forced the survivors to the coast.[14]

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[14] The chief sources of information for the Coahuiltecan tribes are the diaries, mostly unprinted as yet, of the early expeditions into Texas, baptismal records of the San Antonio and the Rio Grande missions, and the various reports of the missionaries. A list of the tribes on the coast between the Rio Grande and the San Antonio in 1780 is given by Governor Cabello in a report of this date [B. Mss.]. See also Bartolomé García, *Manual para Administrar los Santos Sacramentos* (Mexico, 1760), "Introduction."

THE XARANAME, TAMIQUE, AND OTHERS. Inland from the Karankawa, on either side of the lower Guadalupe River, lived theXaraname, Tamique, and smaller kindred bands. As they occupied the border land between four great stocks, the Coahuiltecan, Karankawan, Bidai-Arkokisa, and Tonkawan, it is hard to say to which of these, if any, they belonged. It is believed, however, that they spoke a language distinct from that of the Karankawa, their nearest neighbors on the south. It may possibly be significant in this connection that when about 1760 the Xaraname apostatized and left their mission they joined the Tonkawa. Perhaps, however, the affinity, which directed them thither, was only one of customs and not of language or race.

In the same general border region, between the upper San Antonio and Colorado Rivers, there were, in earlier times, numerous other tribes or sub-tribes whose affiliation has not yet been definitely determined. Among them the Cantuna, Tojo, Toaja, Emet, and Cavas, bands or tribes with some marks of Tonkawan affinity, were prominent. It is even possible that the data which has been more recently accumulated may be sufficient to establish in this region a distinct linguistic family. But by the middle of the eighteenth century most of the bands had disappeared or had been absorbed by their stronger neighbors.[15]

The Contest for the Control of the frontier Tribes

Such were the principal native groups on the frontier between New Spain and Louisiana during the century following the conquest. The domination of the northeasternmost tier of tribes, as they came successively into view, was one of the chief tangible objects of the policies of both Spain and France with respect to the frontier during the greater part of that century. Back of this motive was the ultimate object of territorial possession; but it was recognized by both Spain and France that, with systems not involving extensive colonization, to attain this object the first requisite was to establish an influence over the natives of the district desired. More tangible still than either of these national policies and at times even at variance with them, though usually the best instruments at hand for their attainment, were, on the one hand, private interest in the trade which the frontier tribes afforded, and, on the other hand, the zeal of the missionaries to bring them to the knowledge of the Christian faith.

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[15] The sources for this paragraph are similar in character to those mentioned for the Coahuiltecan tribes. See *footnote* 14.

The effort expended by the two competing nations to maintain an influence over these tribes had, from the first moment of contact to the time when Louisiana was ceded to Spain, the nature of a contest. It was desultory, indeed, in the main, and was waged only to a slight extent with the weapons of military warfare. But a contest it was nevertheless. The principal weapon used by the French was the Indian trader and agent, by the Spaniards, the Franciscan missionary, each being backed by a small display of military force.

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE KARANKAWA. The first point on the northeastern frontier of New Spain to be seriously threatened by the French was the country of the Karankawa, on the Gulf coast. In 1685 La Salle landed by mistake in Matagorda Bay and founded near the Lavaca River a little colony, intended to be temporary because accidental, but protected by a fort, called Saint Louis. The settlement had the Karankawan tribes for neighbors, and was destroyed by them so far as this office was left unperformed by dissension and disease.[16]

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[16] Joutel, "Relation," in Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. iii, 91-534; Clark, *op. cit.*

Incited by interest in the Indian tribes northeastward of the Rio Grande and by rumors of a threatened French expedition under the Count of Peñalosa, the Spanish government, for some time before La Salle made his chance settlement, had been planning to explore this coast, with a view to occupying it and making it the base for an overland route to New Mexico and for the conversion of the provinces of Tagago and Gran Quivira.[17] By the actual danger involved in La Salle's settlement the government of New Spain was now aroused to effective activity. Matagorda Bay, then called Espíritu Santo by the Spaniards and Saint Bernard by the French, was explored, the French fort was destroyed, and proposals to occupy the site were considered. But circumstances, related in a later paragraph, had already caused a transference of attention to the country of the Hasinai, and little further was done toward subduing and controlling the Karankawa until danger again threatened in their country, more than a quarter of a century later.

In 1718 the French founded New Orleans. Immediately they extended their operations among the Chitimacha and Attacapa tribes of the coast to the westward of the Mississippi, and planned to take possession again of the Bay of Saint Bernard, claimed by right of La Salle's settlement. To effect this purpose La Harpe was sent out in 1721 at the head of a maritime expedition, while St. Denis planned to secure the coöperation overland of the Hasinai and Cadodacho Indians; but the Indians of the coast where La Harpe landed, whose identity is uncertain, forced him to abandon the project.

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[17] Royal *cédula*, Dec. 10, 1678, Archivo General y Público, Mexico, Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, vol. 16, no. 98 ff. 189-190; royal *cédula*, Aug. 2, 1685, *id.*, vol. 60, no. 111, ff. 272-276. See a map and a report on this matter listed in Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps of Spanish Possessions*, 172.

La Harpe's was the last known French attempt to control by military force and settlement this part of the Gulf coast, but the French traders by sea and land soon passed the mouth of the Trinity to work among the Karankawan Indians, while the officials of Louisiana continued down to the Louisiana cession to reassert the territorial claims established by La Salle.[18]

Stirred again by these renewed activities of the French on the coast and with the idea of supporting the establishments just planted among the Hasinai, in 1718 the viceroy of New Spain authorized the founding of a mission and a presidio at San Antonio and sent an exploring expedition under Alarcón to Espíritu Santo Bay,[19] though the bay was not reached. Three years later, in the year of La Harpe's ill-fated expedition, a Spanish garrison was sent to occupy the site of La Salle's fort, and in the following year the Marqués de Aguayo established there, among the Karankawa, the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and the mission of Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga. But the hostilities of the natives and the disadvantages of the site caused the removal of these establishments four years later to the Guadalupe River, some ten leagues away, among the more docile Xaraname and Tamique tribes. In 1749 the presidio and mission were again removed, this time to the lower San Antonio, at the present site of Goliad, whither the Xaraname were transferred with their mission.

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[18] Documents in Margry, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, 319, 347-354. For a discussion of the question of the boundary between the French and the Spanish possessions, see Cox, "Louisiana-Texas Frontier," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. x, 1-75. See also letters of Macarty, commandant at Natchitoches, Sept. 10, 1763 [Lamar Papers] and November 17, 1763 [Nacogdoches Archives].

[19] Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquia, *Diario Derrotero q se fromo con toda legalidad en la entrada q hizo el Gen*^{l} *D*^{n} *Martin de Alarcon a la Proa de los Texas.* Ms. in Col. Santa Cruz de Querétaro. This diary shows that Alarcón attempted to get to Bahía del Espíritu Santo by going to the New Braunfels crossing of the Guadalupe, thence to the coast, but, unexpectedly finding that the San Marcos joined the Guadalupe, regarded himself as lost, and returned.

Up to this time little had been done since 1726 toward subduing the Karankawan tribes, who had maintained a hostile attitude and had resisted all efforts to christianize them. But about 1745 Father Mariano de Molina went among them, and shortly afterward the Cocos and some others of the group were taken to the San Xavier missions on the present San Gabriel River.[20] In 1754 another mission, that of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, was founded for the Karankawan tribes, being placed on the lower San Antonio close to the Xaraname mission. But the Karankawa were still as impervious to civilizing influences as they had been in earlier days, and after 1770 the Spanish officials considered long and often the plan of exterminating the race, as the only safeguard against their fierce hostility. Such a plan, involving the coöperation of the forces of Louisiana and Texas, is the theme of a most interesting report made in 1779 to the commandant-general of the Interior Provinces by Athanase de Mézières, lieutenant-governor of Louisiana.[21] Later activity among the Karankawa, at the mission of the Nuestra Señora del Refugio, seems to have been somewhat more successful, but this is a matter which falls outside the period under consideration.

Soon after the removal of their mission to the San Antonio – the exact date is not quite clear – the greater part of the Xaraname deserted in a body and went to live with the Tawakoni and Tonkawa, where they were found by De Mézières many years later.[22] Their presence among these Nations of the North was greatly complained of by the Spaniards, on the ground that they disclosed to the hostile tribes, whom they served as spies, their knowledge of the settlements gained during their mission life. To restore the apostates to their mission, therefore, had long been a matter of great concern to both the government and the missionary fathers, and the aid which De Mézières gave, first to Father Abad and then to Father Garza, in bringing about this desired end, was one of his numerous services to the Spanish government.

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[20] Ortiz, *Visita de las Missiones . . . en el año de 1745*, Oct. 11, 1745 [B. Mss.].

[21] Peña, *Derrotero*, 1772; Letter of Juan Antonio Bustillo Zevallos to the viceroy, June 18, 1726; letter of Fernando Pérez de Almazán to the viceroy, July 4, 1726 [B. Mss.]; Bolton, "Founding of Mission Rosario," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. x, 116-121.

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE HASINAI. Although the first point in the dominions of New Spain to be threatened by the French had been in the land of the Karankawa, it was the country of the Hasinai that first became the scene of direct and continued competition between Spain and France. How early Spanish influence had reached the Hasinai it would be difficult to determine, but it is known that when La Salle and his men visited them in 1686-1687 there were found among them and the tribes to the west numerous traces of communication, through intervening tribes, including evidently the Jumano, with the Spaniards of New Mexico.[23] The visit of La Salle's party now gave the Hasinai a knowledge of French weapons and goods, and, through these and the aid which some of La Salle's men gave them against their enemies, a predilection for the French that was never eradicated. But it was a decade before the discoveries of La Salle were followed up by the French authorities, a delay which proved fatal to territorial pretensions.

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[22] Report of De Mézières to Ripperda, July 4, 1772; De Mézières to the viceroy, July 4, 1772; De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, Aug. 20, 1772. In the last named letter he says they had been apostates "more than ten years."

[23] The best general secondary account of the activities of the French and Spanish among the Hasinai is found in Clark's *Beginnings of Texas, 1684-1718* [University of Texas, *Bulletin*, no. 98, 1908]. A briefer account is in Garrison's *Texas* [American Commonwealths]. A review of the relations of the French and the Spanish on the frontier in the eighteenth century, with special reference to the boundary, is in Cox's "Texas-Louisiana Frontier," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. x, 1-75. By the same author is "Significance of the Texas-Louisiana Boundary" in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, vol. iii, 198-213. See also Joutel, "Relation" in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, vol. iii, *passim*, and especially pp. 283, 292, 299, 301, 338, 339.

To prevent the return of the subjects of France, and to assist in the spread of the Faith, the Spanish government supported the founding, in 1690, of two Franciscan missions near the Neches River, in the Nabedache tribe. This enterprise was led by General Alonso de León, governor of Coahuila, and Fray Damian Massanet, a Franciscan missionary of the same province and a member of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro. In the following year Domingo Terán and Father Massanet were sent to strengthen the missions already founded, establish others, search for rumored Frenchmen, and get a foothold farther inland among the Cadodacho. But, although their reports of the expedition are of great historical importance, they accomplished little with respect to their first object, and even less with respect to the others. The government now transferred its attention to the occupation of Pensacola Bay, while the missionaries, discouraged at the small results of three years' labor, and fearing violence at the hands of the unmanageable Indians, in October, 1693, abandoned the missions on the Neches.[24] Thereafter, with slight exceptions, the Hasinai country was left undisturbed by both French and Spanish alike for over a score of years; and when the two nations again met on the same grounds it was with a most unusual and puzzling mixture of cooperation, connivance, and rivalry.

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[24] Clark, *op. cit.*, 9-42.

During the interval the French explored the Red River as far as the Cadodacho country, while the Spaniards, from their missions on the Rio Grande,[25] extended their work to the tribes between that river and the San Antonio. Occasionally there came to the Rio Grande settlements rumors of Frenchmen among the Hasinai and the Cadodacho, but upon investigation none of them seemed to warrant a counter-expedition.[26] Meanwhile, communication of the Spaniards with the Hasinai was not entirely cut off. Joseph Urrutia, who in the retreat of 1693 had been left disabled on the San Marcos (now Colorado) River, remained several years among the Indians and acquired over them the great influence to which allusion has already been made.[27] Father Francisco Hidalgo, a missionary on the Rio Grande, who before 1693 had worked at the Nabedache missions, after 1700 made various unsuccessful efforts to obtain permission to return to his former charge. In 1709 Fathers Olivares and Espinosa, both destined later to play important rôles in the history of northeastern New Spain, went with a military guard eastward across the Colorado, expecting, on what ground is not clear, to meet there the Hasinai, and hoping to induce them to move to the Rio Grande missions.[28] Finally, in 1711 and 1712, Father Hidalgo, after trying in vain to get from his government and his college help to restore the missions, turned for aid first to the missionaries and then to the secular authorities of Louisiana.[29] His own explanation of this proceeding was that he felt assured that if he could but give an actual demonstration of the danger from the French, he would be sure of aid in getting the coveted permission. The outcome substantiates this explanation. His appeal to the missionaries, which in 1713 fell into the hands of Governor Cadillac, arrived, as we shall see, at a most opportune time, from the standpoint of affairs in Louisiana.

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[25] See Espinosa, *Relación Compendiosa del estado y progresos de las misiones del Rio Grande del Norte*, Dec. 11, 1708, Ms. in the archive of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, C., leg. 1; *Autos sre diferentes providencias aplicadas por su Ex*^{a} *p*^{a} *Conversion de Infieles en la prov*^{a} *de Coaguila*, 1700-1707, Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico, *Provincias Internas*, vol. xxviii; *Diario* by Diego Ramón of an expedition into Texas in Feb., 1707, Ms., *ibid.* All in B. Mss.

[26] See reports of the investigation of such rumors in Coahuila and Nuevo León in 1703, Mss. in "*Autos sre diferentes providencias*," etc., cited in *footnote* 25.

[27] In a letter of July 4, 1733, and another of May 9, 1738, Urrutia tells something of his doings among the Texas tribes. Mss. in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico. B. Mss.

Interest in the Red River country on the part of the French had been quickened by the Crozat grant of 1712. In that year the king ceded to Antoine Crozat a fifteen-year monopoly of the trade of all the country south of the Illinois and between the Spanish and the English colonies. Of this grant it has been said that "it ushered in a new era for the French colony – an era in which commercialism prevailed to the detriment of political and territorial interest." Certain it is that in pursuance of its terms the Spaniards were encouraged by intention but coerced in fact to approach the Louisiana frontier, and allowed to get a hold upon what is now eastern Texas and western Louisiana that was too strong to be set aside by any arguments that the French were able later to produce.

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[28] Ms. diary, by Olivares, in the archive of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. B. Mss.

[29] The current view, that Hidalgo returned to eastern Texas between 1693 and 1716, which originated with Clark [*op. cit.*], is not supported by satisfactory evidence, up to the present. For indications to the contrary, see Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica*, etc. (Mexico, 1792), 206-226. There are other sources which independently of this one show that view to be indubitably erroneous. The whole situation is cleared up in a large measure by some manuscript correspondence of 1714 never utilized, it is believed, since Arricivita used it. It consists of two letters written by St. Denis to Father Hidalgo on the former's arrival at the Rio Grande, the reports of his arrival, and Hidalgo's explanation to the viceroy. B. Mss.

To further the object of the Crozat grant Luis Juchereau de Saint Denis was sent in 1713 to the Natchitoches tribe to open up a trade with the Indians and, using Father Hidalgo's letter as a pretext, to try to establish an overland commerce with the Spaniards of Mexico. On the island near the present city of Natchitoches he built storehouses and left a small garrison, and the post soon became the center of a flourishing trade with the Hasinai and the Caddo. From Natchitoches Saint Denis went to the Hasinai, and, after a journey to Natchez for more goods, he proceeded, in the summer of 1714, to San Juan Bautista, on the Rio Grande, in search of Father Hidalgo. Here he was arrested and sent in custody to the City of Mexico, where an investigation was made of his proceedings.[20]

Alarmed by what they learned from Saint Denis's deposition lest the French should gain dominion over the eastern tribes and their territory, and pass beyond to monopolize the trade and discover the mines of Mexico, the authorities in Mexico organized an expedition designed to contest the advance of the French, as well as to carry out the long cherished plans of Father Hidalgo. Saint Denis, who perhaps regarded this step as the very one to help on his superior's plans for trade, and who, to quote Arricivita, "bore in his person that character which marks honorable men and makes it impossible to doubt their word," [31] was plausible enough to overcome mistrust of his own designs and to get himself appointed guide for the expedition. The enterprise, therefore, was put in charge of Domingo Ramón, for the civil and military, and Fathers Margil and Espinosa, for the religious work, with St. Denis as *cabo comboyador*. Margil and Espinosa were respectively the representatives of the Colleges of Zacatecas and Querétaro. Proceeding in 1716 to eastern Texas, they established four missions and a presidial garrison among the Hasinai, where they found abundant evidence of a flourishing trade in French guns and other goods, which had grown up in the past few years. In the following spring they planted two more missions farther to the eastward in the tribes of the Ais and the Adaes, the latter establishment being well across the Sabine in what is now Louisiana and only seven leagues from the French post of Natchitoches. The three easternmost missions were under the Zacatecas friars, the others under those from Querétaro.

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[20] A copy of St. Denis's passport is in *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. xxviii, f. 120. B. Mss. Clark says that St. Denis arrived at San Juan Bautista "probably early in 1715" [Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. vi, 12, *note*]. Documents in the archive of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro show that he arrived there July 19, 1714. On the 18th, when three leagues from the Rio Grande, he addressed a letter to Father Hidalgo, whom he expected to find at the mission, telling of his approach. Finding that Hidalgo was at Querétaro, on the twentieth he dispatched another letter to him. K. Leg. 1, no. 7. Copies in B. Mss.

Meanwhile, the garrison at Natchitoches had been increased and a fort erected; and the return of the Spaniards in semi-military array was now answered by another increase of the garrison. But, though the French were prepared to resist any attempt that the Spaniards might make to cross the Red River, it was no part of the local authorities to drive them from the establishments which they had already made. On the contrary, it is very evident that they were inclined to encourage their progress, as a means of promoting trade over the border.

But the Spaniards on the frontier, not fully understanding this policy and lacking the French zeal for trade, felt anything but safe,[32] while the French local authorities could not consistently maintain it, as was shown in 1719. When in that year war broke out in Europe between Spain and France, it spread at once to the colonies. Pensacola was promptly captured by the French of Mobile, and, contrary to the desires of the trading interests, orders were given to Blondel, the commandant at Natchitoches, to drive the Spaniards from Texas. In the execution of this command Blondel went in person to Los Adaes and arrested the only Spaniards who were there at the time and carried off the ornaments of the mission church. One of the prisoners, escaping, carried the news to Nacogdoches and the presidio on the Angelina, whereupon the missionaries and the garrison retreated to San Antonio, fearing, as they said, an attack by the French and Indians combined. As a punishment for their allegiance to the Spaniards, we are told, after the retreat of the latter the Adaes tribe were removed from their lands by the French and treated as enemies. After peace had been restored Blondel was reprimanded by La Harpe, representative of the Company of the Indies, now proprietor of the colony, for his descent upon Los Adaes, and was required by him to apologize, though Blondel insisted, on good grounds, that in his advance upon the mission he had only obeyed orders.[33]

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[31] Arricivita, *op. cit.*, 222.

To restore the Spanish frontier the Marqués de Aguayo, the magnate of the Coahuila frontier, was now sent by the viceroy (1721) with the strongest military force that had ever yet entered Texas. He reëstablished the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, or "Texas," and the six abandoned missions. More important still, he planted a new presidio in the Adaes tribe beside the mission of San Miguel. This establishment, which for half a century remained the capital of Texas, was on the site of the present Robeline, Louisiana. To prevent the French from reoccupying the Bay of Espíritu Santo [Matagorda Bay], as well as to furnish a base of communications with Mexico by water, he also erected, in 1722, a presidio and a mission on the site of La Salle's fort, among the Karankawan tribes, as already has been stated.[34]

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[32] Letter of Fathers Espinosa and Margil to the viceroy, July 2, 1719. B. Mss.

[33] *Ibid.*; Espinosa, *Chrónica Apostólica*, 451, 453; Arricivita, *Crónica Apostólica*, 99-100; Margry, vol. vi, 225, 305-306.

While this expedition of the Marqués de Aguayo determined the political dominion of Spain over the country of the Hasinai, the Ais, and the Adaes, it did not by any means give them undisputed sway over the minds of the natives. The missionaries, unsupported by an adequate military force, failed almost completely to convert the Indians to the faith,[35] and regarded this failure as due in no small degree to the baneful influence of the nearby French. The men of the latter nation were skillful Indian traders and readily affiliated with the savages. On the other hand, the narrow commercial policy of the Spanish government permitted trade with the Indians only under the strictest regulations and entirely prohibited supplying them with firearms. As a consequence, the Hasinai continued to look to the French for their weapons, ammunition, and most of their other articles of trade, for which they exchanged their peltry, and, to some extent, their agricultural products. The result was that, though the natives of this region usually courted the Spaniards, nominally their masters, and received from them their *regalos*, or presents, it was the French whom they loved.

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[34] Peña, Juan Antonio de la. *Derrotero de la Expedición en la Provincia de los Texas, Nuevo Reyno de Philipinas*, etc. (Mexico, 1722). A copy entitled "Diario del Viage del Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo," etc., is in *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. xxviii. It has numerous copyist's errors. The best account of the Aguayo expedition is the thesis by Miss Eleanor Buckley, one of my former students in the University of Texas, entitled "Expedition of the Marquis of Aguayo into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722," and printed in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 1911.

[35] The description given by Coman [*op. cit.*, vol. i, 99] of the missions among the "Tejas and Cenis," does not apply at all to the missions of this region, where the Indians were never successfully "reduced."

After the vain attempts of St. Denis and La Harpe to open up a legalized trade with the Spaniards, the frontier authorities settled down to a long siege of outward hostility (much feigned at times we suspect) marked by constant bickerings over the boundary line, over contraband trade, over the restitution of deserters and absconding slaves, and over the allegiance and control of the natives. As time went on, the complaints, in Spanish circles, of French trade and French influence among the Hasinai increased, though they were mingled, and sometimes justly, with accusations of complicity on the part of the Spanish officials. On this score none gained greater notoriety or was the occasion of more lavish expenditure of ink and paper by the superiors than Don Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui, governor of Texas from 1751 to 1759. By this time the cry was raised, and with truth, that the French traders, growing bolder, had settled permanently among the Indians west of the Sabine; and more than once – notably in 1752 and 1758 – did the Spaniards take unfeigned alarm at the rumors of risings of the Hasinai at the instigation of the French.[36]

The usual Spanish view of the disastrous influence of the French upon Spanish interests in eastern Texas was well set forth by the Franciscan missionaries of San Antonio in their report of March 6, 1762. "No less injurious," they aver, "is the proximity, by way of Los Adaes, to these same French. In the first place, having gained the devotion of most of the tribes of Indians, they prevent them from accepting the Holy Faith. For, as they do not care for this themselves, nor for anything relating to religion, they desire only to increase traffic and commerce in paints, beads, blankets, and, what is more coveted by the Indians, knives, guns, powder, and balls. This licentious liberty is diametrically opposed to the Christian subjection sought by the Catholic Majesty, who considers the reduction of the Indians only for the salvation of their souls. In the second place, they prevent the extension of the Catholic dominions, and even decrease them by imperceptibly taking possession of much territory, the loss of which will some day be regretted when it is too late." [37]

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[36] De Soto Vermudez, *Investigación*, 1752-1753, Ms. in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 299; letter of De Mézières to Fray Abad, Nov. 28, 1759. Ms. in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 24. Copies in B. Mss.

Such were the main features of the desultory contest for the control of the Hasinai down to the time of the Louisiana cession. Meanwhile, during the three quarters of a century which it had covered, this group of tribes had become greatly reduced, mainly by the blighting touch of those diseases which in the eighteenth century wasted so many of the southwestern tribes. Some of the smaller bands had disappeared altogether, and the organization of the Confederacy, once relatively compact, numerous, and strong, but now demoralized by internal disintegration and by contact with the white man, had broken down. As a result, the Hasinai tribes as seen and described by De Mézières in 1779 were but a shadow of their former selves.[38]

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE CADDO. The supremacy of the French among the Caddo and the Wichita, excepting the Adaes tribe, in whose very midst the Spanish fort was planted, was from the outset almost complete, and the feeble efforts of the Spaniards to eradicate French influence from among them were futile so long as Louisiana remained a French province, while even thereafter the allegiance of these tribes was to the French as a race, and not to the Spanish government, under whom the French of Louisiana now lived. It is especially this fact that explains the exceptional importance of the services of De Mézières and other French agents to the Spanish government after the Louisiana cession.

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[37] *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. xxviii, 163.

[38] See *Documents* 211-217.

As in the Hasinai country, the journey of the survivors of the La Salle party to the Cadodacho laid the basis of amicable relations between these Indians and the French. This friendly feeling was strengthened by the visit made in 1689 by De Tonti while on his search for La Salle's colony.[39] The Spanish government from the outset regarded the Cadodacho country as a strategic point of great importance. But the attempt made in 1692 by Terán and the missionaries to explore the Cadodacho country and to found a Spanish establishment there was a failure,[40] and although such a step was frequently considered thereafter, not till 1717, so far as is known, was another formal effort made by the Spanish authorities to enter that country. This attempt also failed, as will appear below.

Meanwhile, the French were almost as dilatory as the

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[39] The Terán party learned among the Cadodacho in 1692 of the visit there by a French party under the leadership of a "man who lacked one hand." The reference, of course, is to De Tonti, "the man with the iron hand." Document written by Fray Damian Massanet, one of the Terán party, 1692. Ms. in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico. B. Mss.

[40] Terán, *Descripción y Diaria Demarcación*, etc., 1691-1692. Ms. in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico. A copy is in the *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. xxvii; Autos of the Terán expedition. B. Mss.

Spaniards in making real headway in the Caddo country. At the close of the century Iberville projected an expedition to reconnoiter the Spanish settlements of New Mexico. In pursuance of this object Bienville and Saint Denis in 1700 explored the Red River to a village of the Yatasí, near modern Shreveport, where they heard of the Cadodacho. In the same year Saint Denis went up the Red River to the lower Natchitoches, with whom he made an alliance; from there he was conducted one hundred leagues overland to the Cadodacho, where he was told, what he already knew, perhaps, that the Spaniards had abandoned their establishments in the Hasinai country.[41] Aside from this, little seems to have been done to strengthen the French hold until the trading post was erected at Natchitoches, in 1713-1714.

But now, as has been stated before, a lively trade with the Caddo and the Hasinai was opened up by the indefatigable, omnipresent French *chasseurs*. To head them off and at the same time save souls, Father Margil, for the Spaniards, in 1717 attempted to found missions for the Cadodacho and the Yatasí, but failed.[42] Several times subsequently the missionaries appealed for help to perform the same service, without result.

In the year 1717 the hold that had already been gained by the French upon the Caddo country was strengthened by moving a part of the Yatasí tribe down the Red River and settling them among the lower Natchitoches. But far more important was the establishment in the Cadodacho country of a garrisoned trading post by Bénard de la Harpe in 1719, a step which was hastened by the report that Governor Alarcón, of Texas, was about to establish a garrison there for the Spaniards.[43] The French fort, known as the Nassonite Post, was placed on the Red River, two leagues above the Cadodacho village and three below that of the Nassonites *and the Natsoos.*[44] *This establishment, which was* maintained, part of the time with a garrison, till after the Louisiana cession, was an effective barrier to the Spaniards. Later on, when, it does not appear, other depots were established at the villages of the Petit Cados and Yatasí, further down the river. These trading establishments at Natchitoches and in the villages of the Cadodacho, Petit Cado, and Yatasí, together with the influence of the remarkable St. Denis, who in 1722 became commander at Natchitoches, and who till his death in 1744 remained the master genius of the frontier, were the basis of an almost undisputed French domination over the Caddo tribes. More than once the Spanish authorities contemplated driving the French out of the Cadodacho village and erecting there a Spanish post, but either the energy, the courage, or the means to execute the plan were lacking.

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[41] Penicaut, "Relation," in Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. v, 420; Bienville, "Journal," *ibid.*, vol. iv, 432-443.

[42] Espinosa, *Chrónica Apostólica*, 443.

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE WICHITA. It was apparently the expedition of La Harpe in 1719 that first brought the French into contact with the Tonkawa and the Wichita tribes. While at the Nassonite village in that year he sent Du Rivage to reconnoiter the country farther on. Seventy leagues up the Red River Du Rivage met a party of Quidehais, Naouydiches, Joyvan, Huanchané, Huané, and Tancaoye returning from war with the Apache, and by means of presents which he bore for the purpose he gained their friendship. Among these tribal names we recognize what were probably the later Kichai, Yojuan, and Tonkawa. Just where they were living at this time is not definitely known, but the inference is that it was in the general vicinity where they were met, near the Red River. From the Nassonite village La Harpe went to the lower Canadian River and made an alliance with the nine tribes, collectively referred to as Touacara, whom he found settled there. Among these were the Touacara, Toayas, and Yscanis, who seem to have been the Tawakoni, Taovayas, and Yscanis, three of the principal Wichita tribes later found in northern Texas.[45] In this same year, 1719, the Spaniards of New Mexico heard that the Jumano, an Arkansas tribe of Wichita affiliation, were securing French weapons. Three years later La Harpe ascended the Arkansas River to a point one hundred forty leagues above its mouth, whence he believed it possible to go in pirogues to the Comanche and the Spanish settlements of New Mexico. For this purpose he recommended the establishment of a post among the Touacara.[46] The Arkansas post, reëstablished at this same period, became the basis for extensive trade among the tribes of the Arkansas River.

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[43] La Harpe, "Relation," in Margry, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, 255.

[44] *Ibid.*, 263.

For the period between the expedition of La Harpe and the middle of the eighteenth century little is known of the movements and whereabouts of the Wichita tribes, but there seems to have been a general movement southward, though Jumano continued to live on the Arkansas. But trade with the Wichita tribes seems to have been conducted freely from the Nassonite and Arkansas posts, while an occasional French trader or deserting soldier made his way through their country to the Comanche and to New Mexico. As we shall see, later on it was claimed that the French flag had been flying at the Tawakoni village since 1723 or earlier, and this may have been true, though it does not necessarily mean that the village had remained all that time in one place. The reference may have been to the first visits to the Touacara while they were on the Canadian. A Spaniard who in 1749 passed through the Jumano villages on the Arkansas River on his way to New Mexico, with a party of Frenchmen, wrote that these Indians were all well supplied with firearms by the French traders, possessed a French flag, and had just received a bountiful supply of presents in the name of the French king.[47] In 1753 Governor Kerlérec, of Louisiana, was able to write, with all apparent sincerity, of the Touacana, Hyscanis, and Quitseinge [Tawakoni, Yscanis, and Kichai], in common with the Hasinai and the Caddo tribes, that "they all agree unanimously in recognizing the French Governor of La Louisianne as their father, and they never deny his wishes in the least."[48] An indication of the truth of this assertion is found in the fact that in 1759 the Indians of the Taovayas village on the Red River were found well supplied with French guns and flying a French flag.

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[45] La Harpe, *op. cit.*, 273, 277, 281, 289.

[46] —*Ibid.*, 279; Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731*, 120-122.

An important feature of the French trade with these tribes, at least when they were not at war with the Comanche, was that in horses, mules, and Indian slaves.

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[47] Reference is made to the testimony given at Santa Fé, on March 1, 1750, by Felipe de Sandoval, who had shortly before arrived there with six Frenchmen. He was a native of Santa María who had been captured by the English and taken to Jamaica, whence he had fled in a French vessel bound for Mobile. Going thence to New Orleans he set out for New Mexico by way of the Arkansas post, where he was joined by the Frenchmen [*Autos fhos sre franceses que llegaron al Pueblo de taos con la Nas*^{n} *Cumanche q benian a haxer sus aconstumbrados resgattes*]. Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico. Copy in B. Mss.

[48] "Projet de Paix et D'Alliance avec les Cannecis," in *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, nouvelle série, tome iii, 72.

The Wichita supplied the Comanche with weapons and agricultural products. In exchange they secured horses and mules stolen from the Spanish settlements, and Indian captives, among whom Apache predominated For these articles they found a ready market in Louisiana, where stock of Spanish brand and Apache slaves were common forms of property. If the facts were all known the history of the eighteenth century slave market at the Taovayas village on the Red River near modern Ringgold would make a most interesting story.

During all this time, so far as the records thus far available show, these Wichita tribes had seen little of the Spaniards of Texas, and, on account of the Comanche barrier between them, perhaps as little of the Spaniards of New Mexico. Sometime before 1750 a party of Spanish soldiers from New Mexico, in pursuit of Comanche and led by Lieutenant-general Bernardo de Bustamante y Tagle, had gone down the Arkansas River to the neighborhood of the Jumano villages, learning of the beauties and bounties of the country "which Divine Providence created for the support of the savages and the greed of Frenchmen." But the governor of New Mexico, writing in the year named, could cite no other instance of Spanish advance down the Arkansas, and he frankly admitted that the Jumano were under the control of the French, while he depended for information regarding them on reports brought up the Arkansas from Louisiana.[40] But from indifferent strangers, which they appear to have been hitherto, these Wichita tribes now became converted into active foes through their hostility to the Apache. In 1757 the Spaniards founded for the Lipan Apache the mission and presidio of San Sabá, on the upper San Sabá River, one professed motive for the step being the desire to utilize the Lipan as a barrier to keep the French from penetrating, by way of the Wichita, to New Mexico and Nueva Viscaya. A more immediate motive, however, was the hope that the new establishment would be a means of protecting the San Antonio settlements against Apache depredations. Of the Comanche, Wichita, Caddo, and Hasinai tribes, the Apache had long been the most hated enemy, and now the Spaniard, who at the San Sabá mission appeared in the guise of the Apache's friend, was very naturally counted among the foes of these northern tribes. In 1758, therefore, a large force of Comanche, Wichita, Hasinai, and perhaps Caddo, attacked and destroyed the mission, killing, among several Spaniards, two of the Franciscan friars.[50] To retaliate, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, a soldier of some renown and at the time captain at San Sabá, was sent out in 1759 with five hundred troops and as many Indian allies. Leaving San Antonio in August, he marched north to the Taovayas settlement, then on the Red River near modern Ringgold, where he found the enemy fortified within a ditch and stockade, flying a French flag, and, some said, with Frenchmen in their midst. From this stronghold the Indians sallied forth and repulsed Parrilla, who lost both baggage and cannon. The Spaniards never ceased to attribute this crushing defeat and the destruction of the San Sabá mission to the machinations of the French, and from what we know of occurrences elsewhere on the frontier this view seems warranted. The cannon left by Parrilla were not recovered until De Mézières went among the Wichita nearly twenty years later.

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[40] Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín to the viceroy, March 8, 1750, in *Autos fhos. sre. averiguar que rumbo han ttraido ttres franzeses*, etc. Bustamante y Tagle was lieutenant in New Mexico under Governor Joachín de Codallos, whose term extended from 1743 to 1749 [*ibid.*].

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[50] See the account by Father Miguel de Molina, an eyewitness, in *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. xxviii, 152-162; also a copy in B. Mss. from the archives of Querétaro. For a statement of the cause of the attack, from the standpoint of the Indians, see *Document* 69.

To guard against a repetition of the attack at San Sabá by winning the friendship of the Wichita, resort was made, as usual, to the services of the unarmed friars. Accordingly, in 1760, the year after the famous battle, Fray Calahorra y Saenz, the veteran missionary at Nacogdoches, was sent to the Taovayas "fort," where he effected a nominal peace. He next went among the Yscanis and Tawakoni, farther south, and tried to secure permission to found for them a mission or missions. Similar efforts seem to have been made by the lay brother Fray Francisco Sedano, who undertook in this period numerous visits to the northern tribes. The good words of the friars were no doubt accompanied by more telling arguments in the form of presents from the king. One of the fruits of Father Calahorra's efforts was the liberation in 1765 by the Taovayas of a subsequently noted Spanish prisoner, named Treviño, who was attended by an embassy of Wichita to Adaes, and whose release was celebrated by demonstrations of mutual friendship.[51] But in spite of all this "good talk" the Tawakoni and Yscanis –under French influence – rejected the proffered missions, while the Spaniards continued to regard the Wichita with apprehension, not only as tribes hostile themselves, but also as partisans of the French, until matters were mended by the efforts of De Mézières in 1770 and 1772, and of the French traders in the Spanish service, such as Layssard, *fils aine*, whom De Mézières reëstablished among them.

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[51] Father López to Colonel Parrilla, in *Expediente sobre establecimiento de Misiones en la inmediacion del Precidio de S^{n} Savas.* Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico; *Testimonio de diligencias*, in the Béxar Archives [Provincias Internas, 1754-1776].

During this period as well as later the Wichita enjoyed an additional branch of profitable trade. This consisted in buying Spanish captives from the Comanche, or taking them themselves, and holding them for ransom by the settlers at San Antonio, who rescued them by paying the thrifty barbarians in horses, mules, or merchandise.[52]

It is interesting to note in this connection that even after the cession of Louisiana, though presumably before either of them had heard of it, Martos y Navarrete, the governor of Texas, and Macarty, the commandant at Natchitoches, entered into a very lively dispute about sovereignty over the Tawakoni, one of the principal Wichita tribes. Governor Martos, it seems, had requested Macarty to remove the French flag that had been found by the Spaniards flying at the Tawakoni village. Macarty replied that it had been flying there more than forty years, and in turn ordered Martos to suspend at once all operations among the Tawakoni (evidently referring to the Spanish mission projects then on foot) or among any other tribes living north of a line drawn from Los Adaes to San Sabá, since all such were within French jurisdiction.[53] Regardless of theoretical boundaries, this claim corresponded closely with the facts, for the French traders had long controlled all the tribes of northern Texas. This feature of the actual situation is recognized in a way by the Spanish map made in 1771 by the engineer La Fora, which represented the "Provincia de Tejas" as bounded on the north by a line running nearly westward from

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[52] Bonilla, "Breve Compendio" (translation by West in the Texas Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. viii), 55-56; Cabello, "Informe," 1780, pp. 53-54. B. Mss.

[53] Macarty, letters to the governor of Texas, September 23 and November 11, 1763. B. Mss.

Los Adaes. At that time the Spanish geographer had no motive to exaggerate the boundaries of Texas, for Louisiana then belonged to Spain.

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE BIDAI-ARKOKISA GROUP. Next to the competition for the control of the Hasinai, that for the domination of the Bidai-Arkokisa group was the most direct, though it was relatively late in developing. Notwithstanding the fact that they began to found establishments in eastern Texas as early as 1690, the Spanish authorities in Mexico, and even those in Texas, seem to have been almost entirely ignorant of the country between the lower Colorado and the lower Sabine until 1745, when they were forced into it, as indeed they had often been into other sections, by rumors of French traders among the tribes of the coast region. It is recorded, it is true, that in 1727 Engineer Álvarez Barreyro had crossed the district under orders from General Rivera, who in that year inspected the whole northern frontier of New Spain;[54] but whatever he may have done, it led to no steps toward occupation of the Arkokisa coast, and had no permanent geographical or political results.

The French, on the other hand, had made some acquaintance with the natives of the section, particularly the Bidai, almost as soon as New Orleans was founded, through the wanderings of Belle-Isle in 1719-1721, while the expedition of La Harpe, sent in 1721 to occupy the Bay of St. Bernard, seems to have attempted its landing either at Galveston Bay or Matagorda Bay.[55] How early the French traders of New Orleans, whose activities are described on a former page, began to pass the lower Sabine is not certainly known, but there is positive evidence to show that it was prior to 1730.[56]

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[54] Rivera, *Diario*, 1727 (Guatemala, 1736), Leg. 2466.

[55] Simars de Belle-Isle, "Relation," in Margry, vol. vi, 320-347; documents concerning La Harpe's attempt to take possession of the Bay of St. Bernard, *ibid.*, 347-354.

For some time between this date and 1745 the Spaniards had heard rumors of these Frenchmen in the direction of the lower Trinity, and now, when a new rumor reached his ears, the viceroy sent Orobio Bazterra, captain at Bahía del Espíritu Santo, to make an investigation, the report of which gives us our first definite information of the Bidai and Arkokisa tribes. The prevailing ignorance on the part of the Spaniards concerning the lower Trinity is reflected by the fact that Orobio knew of no direct road thither, but found it necessary to go first to Nacogdoches, thence southwest by the Bidai trail, thus covering a distance more than twice the shortest route from La Bahía. Among the Arkokisa, of the San Jacinto River country, he heard the disturbing news that the French were annually entering the mouths of the Neches, Trinity, and Brazos Rivers to trade with the natives, and that at their last visit they had selected a site for a trading post near the mouth of the Aranzazu River (clearly the San Jacinto), whither through Arkokisa messengers they had invited the neighboring tribes of the Bidai, Deadoses, and the Texas to trade.[57]

No Frenchmen were actually found there by Orobio, though he made another visit to the locality a few months later, and, as it seems, anxiety subsided. Nevertheless, steps were taken by the Spanish government to cultivate the friendship of the Bidai and Arkokisa tribes by sending them presents and traders with supplies from Adaes. This, indeed, was one of Governor Barrios's most lucrative fields of operation in a considerable unauthorized trade; but the charge that he was in collusion with the French lacks satisfactory proof.[58]

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[56] *Dilixensias sobre Lanpen*, February 19, 1753, Ms. in the Béxar Archives. Robertson [*Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States*, vol. i, 258, note 124] commits an error by suggesting that the Orcoquiza referred to by Navarro were the Arkansas.

[57] *Diligencias Practicadas por Dn. Joaquin de Orobio, . . Sobre establecimiento de Franceses*, 1745-1746. Ms. in the Béxar Archives, Bahia, 1743-1778.

A second remedial measure attempted was the removal of the Bidai, Arkokisa, and Deadoses to the new missions on the San Xavier River. Of the three missions founded there between 1745 and 1749, one, that of San Yldefonso, was designed especially to serve these tribes, who represented a distinct linguistic group. But the success of the mission was only temporary, and within a few years most if not all of the Indians returned to their haunts on the lower Trinity.

Finally matters were crystallized in October, 1754, when a party of French traders were arrested at Barrios's order at the mouth of the Trinity. The leader, one Blancpain, was clearly a government agent, and not alone a private trader, as he bore, in addition to a license from the governor of Louisiana to barter for horses among the Attacapa, instructions to keep a diary, to make friends with any strange tribes that he might encounter, and to escort their chiefs to see the governor at New Orleans.[59] Writing in 1780 of this occurrence, Martín Navarro, of Louisiana, said:

> In the time of the French governors, and particularly during the rule of Señor Don Kerlérec k, an attempt was made under superior orders to establish in Orcoquisa, toward La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, a stronghouse, or warehouse, supplied with the goods of the king, of those which he had in the warehouse of this place, for the purpose of conducting trade with those Indians

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[58] For evidence of Spanish trade among the Bidai and Arkokisa after 1751 see *Testimonio practicado sobre si D^n Jacinto de Barrios tuvo Comercio con municiones de Guerra*, 1761, Béxar Archives (Adaes, 1756-1766); *Dilixensias sobre Lanpen*, cited in *footnote* 56.

[59] See document cited in *footnote* 56.

> and in turn with Nuevo Santander [which in Kerlérec's time extended to the San Antonio River], under the direction of a trader named Blancpain, whose edifice still exists, half in ruins.[60]

Soon after their arrest Governor Barrios sent Blancpain and his party to Mexico as prisoners, and the following summer he garrisoned El Orcoquisac, as the Spaniards called the site of Blancpain's capture. At the governor's suggestion, but after much tedious discussion, the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada was erected near the spot in the summer of 1756. This step on the part of the Spaniards was momentarily resisted by the governor of Louisiana, who claimed that the garrison was on French territory and represented that only by his efforts had the Attacapa been restrained from assaulting and destroying the Spanish garrison. He suggested, however, with a goodly measure of presumption, that the question of jurisdiction be settled by a joint commission, and sent to Adaes on this errand Athanase de Mézières, then captain at Natchitoches, but without avail.[61] Later the disturbing rumor reached San Agustín that St. Denis, of Natchitoches, son of the more famous St. Denis, had bribed the Arkokisa Indians to destroy the Spanish settlement. A few months after the establishment of the presidio, the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Luz del Orcoquisac was planted by its side, though a simultaneous attempt to establish in the locality a colony of fifty Spanish families miserably failed.[62]

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[60] Martin Navarro, *Reflexiones politicas sobre el estado actual de la Provincia de Luisiana*, Sept. 24, 1780. Ms. in the Bancroft Collection. This document is printed by Robertson, *op. cit.*, 257-261, under the date *ca.* 1785. The translation given there differs slightly from mine.

[61] Kerlérec to the governor of Texas, New Orleans, Nov. 22, 1756. Archivo General, *Historia*, vol. 91, 72. B. Mss.

[62] The history of the Spaniards on the lower Trinity is as yet buried in the manuscripts in the archives of Texas and Mexico. Among the more important documents for the subject are those cited in *footnotes* 43 and 44; *Dilijens Practicadas en el asumpto del reconocim*^{to} *del desemboque del Rio de la Trin-*

The presidio and mission remained in feeble operation till 1771 and in nominal existence till the general order for withdrawal of the eastern establishments was issued in 1772, by which time the transfer of Louisiana had removed the primary cause of their erection. But even while in existence they had not prevented the French traders from operating, and even settling in small numbers, between the Neches and Trinity.[63]

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE TONKAWAN TRIBES. The relations of the French with the Tonkawan tribes before the middle of the eighteenth century are obscure, but they seem to have been similar to those of the Wichita for the same period, though perhaps less close. We know, at any rate, that either directly or indirectly through other tribes the Tonkawa at an early date secured a goodly supply of French arms and ammunition. But neither the French nor the Spaniards made any noteworthy attempt to occupy their territory till near the end of this period.

On the part of the Spaniards a Franciscan mission had been founded in 1722 for the Yerbipiame, a band of

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idad y Descubrir si avian poblado en el como se avia dicho los Franceses, 1755, Ms., Lamar Papers, no. 25; *Testimonio del Dictamen dado por el Señor Don Domingo de Valcarcel del Consejo de su Magd . . . en los autos fechos á consulta de Don Jacinto de Barrios y Jauregui*, Oct. 11, 1755, Ms. in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, vol. 249; *expediente* concerning the removal of the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada, 1759-1760, Ms. in the Béxar Archives; royal *cédulas* of the period, and correspondence of the viceroy with the king and with the governors with Texas, in the archives of Mexico and in the Béxar Archives. A short sketch based on these and related materials, is the present writer's "Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity, 1746-1771," in the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly*, vol. xvi, 339-377.

[63] For the history of this subject see the *expediente* cited in *footnote* 56, especially the letter of Didier to the governor of Texas, July 19, 1756; Barrios to the viceroy, July 22, 1756; *dictamen fiscal*, Sept. 2, 1756; the viceroy to Barrios, Sept. 12, 1756; royal *cédula* to the viceroy, June 10, 1757. Mss. in the Archivo General, Mexico. For the rumor of St. Denis's bribing the Indians to destroy San Agustín, see a letter of Kerlérec to the governor of Texas, Béxar Archives, Adaes, 1756-1766.

Tonkawan affiliation, but it neither prospered nor endured.[64] Between 1745 and 1756, however, a notable and temporarily successful attempt was made to christianize the Tonkawan tribes, together with the Bidai, Arkokisa, Deadoses, Cocos, and others. One of the principal arguments used to secure government support for this enterprise was danger of French encroachments. The undertaking resulted in the founding of three missions and a presidio on the San Xavier [San Gabriel] River, near its junction with the Arroyo de las Animas [Brushy Creek] on the borders of the Lipan country.[65] But as a result of the various adverse circumstances, within a decade the missions and the protecting fort were abandoned. Efforts were then made to reëstablish the missions, or one of them, at least, first on the San Marcos, and then on the Guadalupe, but without success, and the energies of the missionaries and soldiers concerned were diverted to the Apache mission of San Sabá (1757). After the attack on that establishment in 1758, in which the Tonkawa took part as foes of the Apache, they were regularly regarded as enemies of the Spaniards, until De Mézières made his tours to their settlements in the decade between 1770 and 1780.[66]

FOR THE CONTROL OF THE COMANCHE. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanche, being generally hostile to both, stood as a barrier between the Spaniards of New Mexico and the French of Louisiana.

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[64] Bolton, "Spanish Mission Records at San Antonio," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. x, 3-5; and Bolton, "San Francisco Xavier de Náxera," in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, 438.

[65] Bolton, "San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas," "San Ildefonso," and "Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria," in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii; Arricivita, *Crónica*, 321-357.

[66] The history of the San Sabá establishments has been investigated with great detail from the manuscript sources in my collection by Mr. William E. Dunn.

After 1700 the Comanche often made raids into New Mexico, while campaigns were frequently made against them in turn by the troops of that province. Later on the tribe was accustomed to go in large numbers to the annual fairs at Taos to trade in skins, buffalo meat, and captives, but they were, nevertheless, frequently hostile.

While the French had early in the eighteenth century established a firm hold on the Pawnee and Jumano tribes, neighbors of the Comanche, until near the middle of the century their hold on the Comanche does not seem to have been very strong, the principal reason being the hostility of the Comanche toward the other tribes named.[67] Nevertheless, there was some contact between the Comanche and the French, as various known incidents prove. In 1724 a party of Frenchmen under Bourgemont held a friendly parley with the Padoucah [Comanche] on their own ground, and three years later five Frenchmen went up the Arkansas in search of the tribe. In 1739-1740 the Mallet brothers made their way through the Comanche country to Santa Fé, and were allowed to return, part going by way of the Pawnee, and part down the Arkansas to New Orleans.[68]

About 1746 friendly relations of the French with the Comanche were greatly facilitated through the peace which the latter tribe made with the Jumano of the Arkansas country and with the Pawnee of the Platte. Now French traders, hunters, and deserters, guided by Jumano and Pawnee, began to make their way to the Comanche in considerable numbers, some of them even going to Santa Fé. Thus in 1748 a party of thirty-three Frenchmen are reported to have been at El Quartelejo trading with the Comanche.[69] Again in 1749 three Frenchmen of a party of twelve deserters and traders who had passed through the Jumano country to the Comanche reached Santa Fé. The other nine had remained among the Comanche. Shortly after, in the year 1750, there arrived at Santa Fé a Spaniard named Felipe Sandoval, who had made his way from Louisiana with six companions up the Arkansas to the Comanche. While he was among this tribe he saw a French priest and several French traders bartering weapons and other merchandise for skins, horses, and slaves.[70] The Frenchmen who arrived at New Mexico in 1749 were held there for a time and later ordered sent to the interior, lest, returning, they should spread in Louisiana their knowledge of New Mexico and the Indian country, thus repeating the evil consequences which had come from the too liberal treatment of the Mallet party.[71] Two years later there arrived at Santa Fé two Frenchmen with bolder intent. They were members of a party of ten who had set out from Louisiana, with license from the authorities, to attempt to open trade with New Mexico, carrying sufficient merchandise to pay the expenses of the journey. Eight of the party had remained behind among the Indians. One of the two who reached Santa Fé, Jean Chapuis by name, proposed conducting a trade up the Pawnee River, thence to Santa Fé by horses bought among the Pawnee and the Comanche. Since the Comanche could not be trusted, he proposed that the annual caravan should be protected by an escort of fifty Spanish soldiers. These presumptuous intruders were rewarded for their trouble by imprisonment in the City of Mexico.[72]

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[67] For details of French activities among the Indians of the plains northeast of New Mexico in the early eighteenth century see Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, vol. vi. A useful general treatment of this subject is found in Daenell, *Die Spanier in Nordamerika*, chap. viii, *passim*.

[68] Margry, vol. vi, 436 ff; 455 ff.

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[69] Daenell, *op. cit.*, 152.

[70] *Autos fhos sre averiguar que rumbo han ttraido ttres franceses.* Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico. Copy in B. Mss.

[71] —*Ibid.*

The Comanche treaty with the Pawnee and the Jumano about 1746 and the consequent advance of the French westward no doubt influenced the decision of the New Mexico authorities in 1748 regarding the admission of the Comanche to the Taos fairs. In a council of that year the majority admitted the treacherous character of the tribe, but decided to permit the trade to continue. The reasons advanced were the value of the articles which the tribe supplied and the opportunity which it afforded the Comanche and the captives which they sold to come under Christian influence.[73] One cannot help thinking that the oncoming French furnished an additional reason. But the friendship of the Comanche was fickle at best, and their hostility, together with that of the Apache in the southwest, explains in a large measure why it was not until 1787 that direct communication was established between Santa Fé and San Antonio.

Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanche approached the Texas frontier, and, in 1758, as has been seen, took part with the Wichita in the attack on San Sabá. Thereafter they stood, in general, in much the same relation to the Spaniards of Texas as that occupied by the Wichita,[74] with whom they were intermittently allied. After their southward advance to the upper Brazos and Colorado Rivers, French traders among the Taovayas communicated with them, supplied them with goods,[75] and secured from them Apache slaves and Spanish mules and horses. But the tribe was of interest in Texas chiefly because of their hostility to the Apache, of their alliance, by no means constant, with the Taovayas, and of their raids, after the attack on San Sabá, upon the Texas settlements. These raids were frequently, if not usually, incidents in their campaigns against the Apache, just as had been the case with earlier ones in New Mexico.[76] In other words, since 1700 they had pursued their foe from the upper Arkansas to the Frio and the Medina. The treaties made in 1771 included the Comanche, by proxy of the Taovayas.[77] In 1774 Gaignard met the chiefs at the Taovayas village and effected a treaty with the Naytane [Comanche] directly, but the tribe continued to be very uncertain friends if not avowed enemies.

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[72] *Testimonio de los autos fhos a consulta del Gov*^{r} *del nuebo Mex*^{co} *sobre haver llegado dos franceses*, etc. Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico. Copy in B. Mss.

[73] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 171, 239, 248-250, 256-257.

[74] See in general, Cabello, *Informe*; Cabello, *Respuestas . . . sobre barias circunstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales*, April 30, 1786. Béxar Archives, Province of Texas, 1786; and documents in Margry, vol. vi, 292-293, 482-492.

Spanish and French Relations with the Interior Texas Tribes

Although the interior and western Texas tribes did not, to such an extent or so directly as the frontier groups just discussed, constitute centers of competition between the Spanish and the French, yet, because of their interrelations with the frontier groups, they were by no means unimportant even in international politics. At one time or another most of the tribes between the Trinity and the Rio Grande became objects of attention to the Franciscan missionaries of New Spain, who, for political reasons at least, were backed by the government. After the relief of the strain on the eastern frontier resulting from the cession of Louisiana to Spain and from the peace effected thereafter with the northern tribes, the Apache became of first importance in the Indian policy of northeastern New Spain. To these should be added the Xaraname, the most troublesome of the apostatizing mission Indians of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Such is the position occupied by these interior and western Texas groups in the period between 1770 and 1780, in which they figure conspicuously. For these reasons, a brief sketch of the relations of the Spanish and the French with them before the Louisiana cession will be appropriate.

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[75] J. Gaignard, *Journal tenus exat*, 1773-1777. Ms. in the Bancroft Collection, Louisiana. See *Document* 136.

[76] In 1762 it was stated that the Comanche and their northern allies had recently destroyed an Apache village on the Rio Frio and another on the Guadalupe north of San Antonio, and had killed forty Apache who were hunting on the Colorado [Statement of Governor Martos, Sept. 17, 1762. B. A., Bahía, 1743-1778. B. Mss.].

[77] Articles of peace with the Taovayas, *Document* 83.

With the Coahuiltecan Tribes. Except momentarily, when in 1688 Juan Jarri, one of the survivors of the La Salle expedition, rose to a lordly position among the Coahuiltecan tribes north of the Rio Grande, if the Spanish accounts are true,[78] this group of natives were never a source of immediate apprehension to the Spaniards, so far as French influence was concerned. On the other hand, it was these docile and weak bands that before 1760 furnished most of the neophytes for the Spanish missions in Coahuila on the Rio Grande and for those at San Antonio. Indeed, it was usually found that the stronger tribes, unless they had already developed so far as to have adopted a settled agricultural life, could not be successfully "reduced" to mission pueblos without more military force than was ordinarily available in Texas. After the date named the depleted Coahuiltecan tribes, now crowded to the coast by the Lipan, continued to furnish a small supply of material for the languishing missions, but, being peaceful and having practically no fighting strength, they were of little political interest.

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[78] The original *autos* of the finding of "Juan Jarri" among the Indians are in the state archives of Coahuila at Saltillo. They are printed in Portillo, *Apuntes para la Historia Antigua de Coahuila y Texas* (Saltillo, 1888). My own copy from the originals was made with more care than that printed by Portillo.

WITH THE APACHE. Because of the geographical position which they occupied in the early eighteenth century and of their relations with the Comanche tribe, the Apache were described with the frontier groups; but because of their southward migration and of the small danger of French influence among them, they will be treated, from the standpoint of policy, as an interior tribe of New Spain.

From the first occupation of New Mexico, the Spaniards of that province suffered almost continuous depredations at the hands of the Apache, and the same is true of central Texas. Of the various divisions of the group, the best known in Texas was the Lipan. Almost from the beginning of San Antonio, in 1718, this tribe became a terror to the citizens through their raids on the ranches and their ruthless murder of helpless individuals caught unawares. In 1723 one of the bloodiest battles between Spaniards and Texas Indians on record was fought with the Apache far to the north of San Antonio, apparently somewhere on the upper Little River. From this time forward they were alternately at war and (nominal) peace. According to Governor Kerlérec, of Louisiana, until 1743 the Spaniards were on the aggressive, but suffering a severe defeat in that year, they were thereafter on the defensive.[79]

During this period the French had very little contact with the Apache and even considered the tribe as enemies. This feeling the Apache could well repay in kind, for many of their people were sold to the French as slaves. But the Spanish government feared that such contact might be established, and that this fear was not groundless is evident from a memorial made by Governor Kerlérec to his home government in 1753. In that document he suggested sending an expedition across northern Texas into the Apache country to establish peace with them and between them and the Wichita, Caddo, Tonkawa, and Hasinai, prophesying that from such a step the French could open up a brilliant commerce, with establishments at the very door of Coahuila, and get control of the then closed road to Santa Fé, "certain that at the first sign that we should make, the Cannecys [Apache] would pounce upon the Spanish, with whom he would be on a par, by means of the firearms and munitions which he would secure from us." [80]

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[79] Cabello, *Ynforme . . . sobre pazes de los Apaches Lipánes en la Colonia del Nuevo Santander*, 1784. Copy in B. Mss.; Kerlérec, "Projet de Paix," *loc. cit.*; Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas."

At an early date the Spanish Franciscans of San Antonio had begun to propose missions for the Lipan, not only for the purpose of converting them, but as a means of checking their hostilities and preventing the French from tampering with them. In 1745 there was talk of establishing such a mission on the San Antonio. In 1749 the Guadalupe was being considered for the location. Shortly after this a site on the Pedernales was surveyed but rejected. Finally, in 1757, the mission of San Sabá, with the Presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas to protect it, was founded on the San Sabá River, near modern Menardville, then in the heart of the Lipan country. But, as has been seen, in the following year it was attacked by the Comanche and the Nations of the North, thought to be under French influence, while the subsequent attempt of the Spaniards to punish the offense was an ignominious failure. The mission of San Sabá being abandoned, in its stead the two missions of San Lorenzo and Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria were erected in 1762 in the Cañon del Señor San Joseph, on the upper Nueces, a retreat protected from the Comanche by the hills of the Chanas (now misnamed the Llano). These missions, in turn, were practically extinguished in 1767 by a similar attack of the same enemies.[81] Thus the Lipan were pushed southward till they reached and even crossed the Rio Grande, occupying the territory formerly possessed by the Coahuiltecan tribes and that further westward about the lower Pecos. At the same time they extended their raids farther and farther southeast, until in De Mézières's day we find them frequenting the lower Trinity.

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[80] Kerlérec, *op. cit.*, 74.

The almost universal hatred for the Apache was the basis of a considerable trade, as has been seen, between their native enemies and the Europeans, in Apache captives, not a few of whom were held by their foes for ransom or sold as slaves in the Spanish settlements, and more especially in New Orleans.[82] This widespread hostility of the Indians toward the Lipan, moreover, was the most efficient safeguard of the Spanish settlements against complete destruction by them; and the prospect which arose after 1770 that the Lipan would be able to effect an alliance with the Bidai and Arkokisa was justly a source of alarm at San Antonio, and no doubt it seemed to justify the treacherous means adopted by De Mézières to prevent it. This hatred, too, was the basis of a plan drawn in 1777 and 1778 by Croix and De Mézières for a general campaign of annihilation against the universally detested Apache.

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[81] *Expediente sobre establecimiento de Misiones en la inmediacion del Presidio de S*^{n} *Savas.* Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico. Copy in B. Mss.

[82] Kerlérec, *op. cit.*; Sibley, report on the Louisiana and Texas tribes, in *Annals of Congress*, 9th congress, second session, 1080-1081. See also the report by Fray Miguel Santa Maria y Silva, *Document* 132.

The Cession of Louisiana and the New Spanish Indian Policy

The foregoing survey has presented a general view of French and Spanish relations with the principal tribal groups of Texas and western Louisiana down to the cession of the latter province to Spain, a transfer contracted for in 1762 but not completely carried into effect till 1769. This event put a new face upon several important matters.

In the first place, Spain's neighbor on the east was now England instead of France. That the new neighbor was more to be feared than the old was correctly understood by Spain from the outset.

In the second place, although jealousies continued to exist between the Spanish subjects of Texas and the French of Louisiana, and although Louisiana was attached to the captaincy-general of Havana while Texas was a province of New Spain, yet Texas now became in effect an interior province, whereas it had formerly constituted a most important frontier. This change, together with the fact that the Franciscan missions which the frontier presidios had in part been designed to protect had failed, made it possible now to withdraw the feeble defenses which for half a century had stood on the Louisiana-Texas border. Such a step was recommended by the Marqués de Rubí in 1767 and was taken by the government in 1772-1773, when the missions, presidios, and small surrounding settlements were removed to San Antonio at the order of the government.[83] Military defense was now diverted from eastern Texas mainly to San Antonio, on the one hand, and to the line of the Mississippi River on the other. As soon as the province of Louisiana was taken over by Spain this process of change was begun by the strengthening of St. Louis. As time went on other defenses were established on the same line, and before the close of the American Revolution garrisons were recommended for eastern Iowa.[84]

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[83] Bolton, "Spanish Abandonment and Reoccupation of East Texas," in Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. ix, 68-82.

The local authorities in Texas, fearing the inroads of the Red River tribes, and urging the danger of English influence among them, requested that some of the defenses to be removed from eastern Texas be transferred to the country of the Taovayas, on the upper Red River, toward which point the Panis-mahas, disturbed by the Louisiana cession, were migrating from the Missouri, and whither English firearms and other goods had already come by 1772, either through the intervening tribes or in the hands of the English themselves. This petition for a northern garrison, though much discussed by the government, was not granted.[85]

In the third place, and in many ways the most important, Spain now had on her hands an enormous new Indian problem, which underlay all the other phases of the matter. The vast horde of Louisiana tribes between the Gulf of Mexico and Canada must be brought to Spanish allegiance and kept good natured. On the southwestern frontier of Louisiana, the region with which this study especially deals, the problem was particularly complex, for Spain had not only the burden of winning and restraining the Osage and other tribes who had been enemies of the French and who might be counted on to continue their hostility toward the province of Louisiana regardless of the change of ownership, but must also bring to Spanish allegiance the Nations of the North – the Comanche, the Wichita, the Tonkawa – who had been not merely partisans of the French, but active enemies of the Spaniards. Formerly these tribes could be looked upon and treated by Spain as foreign enemies; but now they were within the very heart of Spanish territory, and, like the Apache, must be expelled, exterminated, or brought to Spanish allegiance. This part of the problem was made more difficult by the fact that the strength of the Nations of the North was now being increased by that of the Panis-mahas.

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[84] Houck, *History of Missouri*, vol. ii, *passim*; Francisco de Leyba to Gálvez, Nov. 16, 1778, Ms.; Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, vol. i, 166, 332.

[85] See *Document* 90.

Moreover, all these new tribes, from the mouth of the Sabine to Canada, must be kept hostile to the advancing English, and, so far as possible, utilized as a means of keeping English traders and adventurers from crossing the Mississippi or entering the mouths of the coast streams by way of the Gulf. Fear of English influence, even among the far southwestern tribes, had arisen with the first prospect that as a result of the French and Indian War England would secure western Louisiana. Almost immediately after the fall of Quebec this danger was urged as a reason for strengthening the far western presidio of San Sabá. On October 28, 1760, for example, the president of the Queréteran missions in Texas, who was then in Mexico, expressed to the viceroy the belief that Louisiana would fall into the hands of England, adding, "we know very well through documents and reports received before my journey, not only that the French succeed in introducing themselves among and trading with our declared enemies, but also that the English with frequency succeed in doing these things." [86] A week later Parrilla, the former captain at San Sabá, informed the viceroy that according to Apache prisoners who had escaped from the Taovayas, there were among the Nations of the North white persons, not Frenchmen – and presumably Englishmen, Parrilla concluded – who were teaching the Indians the use of weapons that answered to the description of "explosive bombs," whose purpose, it was of course imagined, was to destroy the Spaniards.[87] From now forward to the end of the Spanish régime fear that the Anglo-Americans would tamper with the southwestern tribes and invade Spanish territory was the almost constant refrain of the frontier officials. England did not get western Louisiana as a result of the French and Indian War; but she did reach the Mississippi. And if under the other supposition there was danger of English influence among the southwestern tribes, how much greater now was the danger that they would seduce the tribes ranged along the Mississippi and the easily accessible Missouri!

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[86] Letter to the viceroy, in *Expediente sobre establecimiento de Misiones en la inmediacion del Presidio de S^{n} Savas.*

To meet the new and difficult situation, Spain was forced to adopt for Louisiana and the frontier of New Spain what was to her an essentially new Indian policy. In the northern provinces of New Spain reliance for Indian control had always been placed largely on the missions supported by presidial guards; and by narrowly restricting trade among the Indians in their own country an attempt had been made to force them to depend upon the missions for supplies. It is a striking fact, therefore, that just at the time when Spain was utilizing the mission as the principal means of occupying and holding the new province of Alta California and developing there what was, perhaps, the highest type of Indian mission in the history of New Spain, in Louisiana the mission was given no part in the scheme of control. The difference is to be found in the differing Indian situations. California was inhabited by docile, unwarlike tribes, like those of the San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande regions, and of the kind with which the mission was best calculated to succeed. Louisiana, on the other hand, was inhabited by powerful and warlike tribes. In eastern Texas, Spanish missions had already been tried among them and had failed, while the French missions west of the Mississippi had never been of a kind to meet the more rigid Spanish ideal. The Louisiana Indians, moreover, from the upper Missouri to the Gulf, had long been accustomed to a system of control through fur traders and annual presents distributed in the name of the king. Finally there was already available in Louisiana a large body of traders, known to the tribes and dependent upon the fur trade for a living. To continue the French system was, therefore, but to follow the line of least resistance. It was seen from the outset, indeed, that to do otherwise would be very difficult.[88] Consequently the French method of control through the fur trade and presents, with a good many modifications in the directions of greater equity for the white men and greater humanity toward the natives, was frankly adopted, and its administration left largely in the hands of French agents. Within a few years the system was extended to include the friendly tribes of eastern Texas. The method violated many of the principles of Indian control which had been practiced by Spain in North America through more than two centuries, but it was the obvious plan to follow, and that it was adopted shows the unwonted readiness of Charles the Third to attempt any kind of reform which promised success, no matter how radical and regardless of tradition.

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[87] *Expediente sobre establecimiento de Misiones en la inmediacion del Presidio de S^{n} Savas*, 39-40.

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[88] Undated letter of Ulloa to O'Conor (1768).

The general aims of the Indian policy now adopted by Spain for Louisiana and the Texas frontier have already been indicated in the statement of the problems which it was designed to meet. More closely analyzed, and including the subsidiary or incidental with the major, the aims were as follows: (1) to win and maintain the allegiance of the numerous tribes of Louisiana, from Canada to the Gulf coast, and including the hostile Nations of the North on the borders of Texas; (2) to keep these tribes hostile to all foreigners, and particularly beyond the influence of the English. These were the great central aims of the policy; others of less vital importance or incidental to the main purposes were: (3) to coerce the hostile tribes into friendship by cutting off supplies from all sources except those authorized by the government; (4) to exclude from the Indian villages all unlicensed persons, whether traders or vagabonds, Spanish or foreign, the worst nest of outlaws to be dealt with under this head being that infesting the Arkansas River; (5) to stop all trade with the Indians in horses, mules, and Indian slaves, forms of traffic which had caused such hardship when conducted by the French on the Spanish border; (6) to stop harmful intertribal hostilities, notably that between the Caddo and the Osage; this aim, however, did not preclude following the old policy of balance, by which one tribe was turned against another if the situation required it; (7) to prevent the escape of apostates from the missions to the unchristianized tribes; (8) to put an end to the taking of Christian captives and holding them for ransom; (9) to stop the atrocities so often perpetrated by the cannibal Karankawa upon shipwrecked mariners along the

Gulf coast; (10) to do what was possible under the new plan toward realizing the Spanish ideal, so lacking in the French policy, of elevating the natives to civilized life.

The means adopted for achieving these many and varied ends were likewise many and various. As has been stated, the central means were the distribution of annual presents to the friendly tribes in the name of the king and the provision of the tribes with regularly licensed traders, to whom they could sell their furs and surplus crops, and from whom they could get their necessary supplies. The traders were as much government agents as private business men, for they went out under definite government instructions, looking to the best interests of the service. They must be men of good habits, and if possible, of substance. They were required to make known by formal harangues the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, and the fact that Frenchmen and Spaniards were brothers; to proclaim to both friend and foe the clemency and the might of the new sovereign; to report all occurrences among the Indians of interest to the government, sending special couriers for the purpose if necessary; to expel all foreigners and all vagabonds, outlaws, or unlicensed subjects found among the tribes, calling upon the Indians to give forcible aid if the case required it; to treat the Indians fairly, selling staple goods at fixed and reasonable prices; to refrain from selling intoxicating liquors; to use their influence to induce the Indians to live a settled life; and to see that no Indian died without baptism. As a means of coercing the hostile tribes, traders were under strictest orders not to supply them or unlicensed traders among them with any kind of merchandise. One of the numerous modifications of the old French system was that no individual was permitted to monopolize the trade of any tribe, but this provision in after years broke down. The goods distributed by these traders were commonly supplied by wealthier merchants, under government contract, and were paid for out of the ensuing year's profits.

Supplementary means of control were the use of friendly nations as intermediaries with the hostile; the encouragement of embassies from the distant tribes to see the governors and post commanders of Texas and Louisiana (unless this became too expensive or dangerous); and the sending of ambassadors, like De Mézières, LeBlanc de Villeneufve, and Gaignard, to the distant tribes. The friendly tribes were encouraged to pillage the English traders; tribes living east of the Mississippi were induced to cross the stream and become Spanish subjects; and the Mississippi posts were increased in number and strength, as time went on, in a desperate attempt to keep out by force the English traders and adventurers. To quiet the trouble between the Osage and the Cadodacho, an effort was made to have the Arkansas recognized as the boundary beyond which neither tribe should pass.[89]

As a mark of honor and to instil patriotism, friendly tribes were provided with Spanish flags [*pabellones*]; distinguished chiefs were appointed *capitanes* or *gober-*

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[89] Undated letter of Ulloa to O'Conor (1768); O'Reilly to De Mézières, Jan. 22 and 23, 1770 (three letters); De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, Feb. 1, 1770 (nos. 7-10); De Mézières, Instructions to traders, Feb. 4, 1770; Unzaga y Amezaga to De Mézières, March 16, 1770 (several letters); agreement of De Mézières with chiefs of the Cadodacho and Yatasí, April 21, 1770; De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, May 15, 1770; reports by De Mézières of his expeditions of 1772, 1778, 1779. The above paragraph is based on a study of the correspondence and reports of De Mézières during his whole career as lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches, the above cited documents being only a few illustrative ones.

nadores and dignified by decoration with great and small medals. Notable medal chiefs depending on Natchitoches during the early years of the Spanish occupation were Tinhioüen, cacique of the Cadodacho, and the most influential Indian among the allies; Cocay, head chief of the Yatasí; and Cyxnion, chief of the Tawakoni. Brazo Quebrado, Kichai chief, and Guakan, Yatasí chief, perhaps also received medals. Among the medal chiefs depending on the governor of Texas during the same period were Sauto, or Bigotes, chief of the Hainai tribe and head of the Hasinai Confederacy; and Gorgoritos, a Bidai, who was at the head of the Bidai-Arkokisa Confederacy.

The principal distribution points and centers of control for the western tribes were Natchitoches, the Arkansas post, and St. Louis. From Natchitoches goods and presents were distributed to the Yatasí, the Petit Cado, the Cadodacho, the Tonkawa, the Wichita, the Hasinai, and Bidai; the Arkansas and other small tribes looked to the Arkansas post; while St. Louis was the agency for the Osages and all the tribes of the Missouri and the upper Mississippi. A document dated in 1777 shows that at that time the following tribes were accustomed to go to St. Louis to receive their annual presents: Osages Pequeños, Misuris, Canzes, Nación la Republica, Hotos, Panis of the Platte, Majas, Grandes Osages, Hayuas, Sioux, Yates abuene, Renar, Sac, Puaen, Mascouten, Quicapu, Pu, Otabuas, Sotu, Peorias, and Kaskaskias.[90] In later days, after the reoccupation of Nacogdoches by Spain, that place assumed much of the former importance of Natchitoches by becoming the distribution point for most of the tribes of the Texas-Louisiana frontier.

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[90] *Recopilación de las Naciones de Yndios del Rio Misury* q^e *acostumbran venir a recevir regalos in este puesto*, Nov. 15, 1777. Bancroft Coll. Mss.; translated in Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, vol. i, 141-148.

It has been commonly supposed that the early Louisiana fur trade was all centered at St. Louis, and a study of this branch of it has made familiar the names of such men as La Clede, the Chouteaus, Robidoux, Lisa, and Clamorgan.[91] A parallel study of the southwestern frontier reveals a long list of equally interesting and perhaps equally important names. Among the supply merchants at Natchitoches and New Orleans during the decade between 1770 and 1780 were Juan Piseros, who at one time was creditor to the Spanish government and the missions to the amount of thirty thousand dollars; Voix, also a man of means, and his agent Joanis; Ranzon, Antonio Charbonet, and Gilbert Maxent. Among the traders and interpreters, who during the same period went among the tribes, were Le Blanc de Villeneufve, Bormé, La Mathe, Mathías le Court, Fazende, the Layssards (Jean Baptiste, and Nicolás Marafret), Lemé, De Qunidse, Sosier, Bosquet, Pichet, Barré, La Lima, Du Chesne [Dugene], Rose, Gagneé, and Gaignard.

The attachment of Louisiana to Havana while Texas was a part of New Spain, where a different system of Indian control was in vogue, led to much conflict of policy on the two sides of the frontier. The governor of Texas, the Baron de Ripperda, did his best to coöperate with the Louisiana authorities, on whom reliance was placed for the protection of Texas from the Nations of the North; but by this very fact he found himself under the suspicion of the officials of New Spain, where the Louisiana policy was not approved. Since the Nations of the North received their supplies and presents from Natchitoches, there was little self-interest to prevent them from molesting the Texas settlements; and later on, when Ripperda saw the control of the Indians slipping from his hands through their dependence on Louisiana, he requested that power to license traders, even from Louisiana, be transferred to himself. Thus things were often at cross purposes. Many parts of the policy were hard to enforce. While the Natchitoches traders were strictly prohibited from buying horses and mules from the Taovayas, that tribe frequently found a market for these animals with the contraband traders from the Arkansas, or even with the tribes of the Missouri, and thus horse-stealing at the Spanish settlements was still encouraged,[93] while the Natchitoches merchants demanded a removal of the restrictions, in order that they might compete with the *contrabandistas* from the Arkansas.

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[91] Houck, *History of Missouri*, *passim*; Chittenden, *American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. i, *passim*.

Nor did the frontier forts and the Indian policy combined succeed in keeping the English out of Louisiana. The oncoming tide could not be restrained; indeed, its advance wave crossed the Mississippi much earlier than has commonly been supposed. This had occurred even before the American Revolution, as is clearly shown by numerous items of evidence relating to various parts of the frontier. Some of these items may be noted here.

On the southwestern border the English entered the Spanish territories by way of the coast, or went across Louisiana to various parts of the Texas frontier. Tribes as far west as the Texas border were going to the English to purchase goods as early as 1768. In 1769 four Englishmen were found living at Natchitoches. One was a man named Guillermo Ovarden [William Warden], another a man of Irish birth named Juan Cruz [John Cross?]. Several cases of shipwreck of English mariners occurred on the Texas coast in the succeeding years. In 1771 a party of them were picked up and taken to La Bahía; the next year they went overland to Natchitoches driving one hundred, thirty-three head of beef cattle and more than forty horses, purchased at San Antonio with three pipes of rum and three barrels of sugar. This transaction, of course, was authorized by the San Antonio officials. From the sugar and the rum we would infer that the Englishmen, perhaps, had come by way of the West Indies. In the same year, 1772, it was learned that English firearms and other goods were in use to a small extent among the Taovayas on the upper Red River. In that year, also, several English merchants were reported as residing at Opelousas, trading with the inhabitants there and with the Texas tribes and boasting that they would trade wherever they pleased. In October of the next year, 1773, the governor of Louisiana reported to the king of Spain that English traders were crossing the wilds of Louisiana and dealing with several of the Indian tribes in spite of all that he could do. In response he was instructed to entrust the task of stopping the traffic to Athanase de Mézières, lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches. In June of the next year, 1774, it was reported that Juan Hamilton and others *continued* to make journeys to the mouth of the Trinity to buy horses and mules from the Indians, who stole them from the Spanish settlements, and to go inland to the Bidai tribe, where they were causing disturbances. At the same time a certain Jerome

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[93] *Expediente sobre proposiciones del Governador de Texas, Baron de Ripperda, para ereccion de un Nuevo Presidio y Emprender una Cruda Guerra contra los Apaches Lipanes, haciendo alianza con las naciones del Norte,* Archivo General, Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 51; *Expediente sobre la dolosa y fingida paz de las Naciones del Norte; y comercio ilicito de los Franceses de la Nueba Orleans,* Archivo General, Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 93, *passim*; Journal of J. Gaignard's expedition to the Naytanes, 1773-1774.

Matalinche, said to be the agent of English merchants of Manchac, West Florida, was conducting similar trade among the tribes of the Neches River. In 1777 Gil Ybarbo, captain of Bucareli, on the Trinity River, was told by a trader among the Arkokisa that an English vessel laden with brick had stranded on Sabine Lake at the mouth of the Neches River. Going to reconnoiter, he learned that the English had been entering the Neches in small vessels and trading with the natives, having remained there in 1774 long enough to plant a crop. He found the vessel as it had been reported, and on his return picked up west of the Trinity a lost Englishman, whose name is given as Miler. These inroads of the English on the coast, it was claimed, were partly checked by the work of Ybarbo from his vantage point at Bucareli.

Writing in 1778 of the trade in firearms with the Nations of the North, Croix, the commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, declared himself opposed to it if it were not for the fact that the trade would surely pass to the hands of the English "who lose no opportunity to introduce themselves among the Indians, both for the profit gained from the barter, and for the welcome and gratitude with which the Indians receive them."

Thus there is no lack of evidence that before the close of the Revolution the English were causing a great deal of anxiety on the part of the Spanish officials, or that they were actually pushing across Louisiana and by way of the Gulf to the borders of Texas.[98] Moreover, the indications given here regarding English activities on the southwestern frontier during the decade 1770-1780, can all be paralleled by similar data regarding Upper Louisiana, where traders from Illinois were ascending the Missouri by 1773, and were getting furs to the value of many thousand dollars a year by 1778.[94]

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[98] For evidence on the matters treated in the foregoing paragraph see Ulloa to O'Conor, 1768 (undated letter); Ripperda to Unzaga y Amezaga, May 26, 1772; Ripperda to the viceroy, April 28, 1772; Joseph de la Peña to Unzaga y Amezaga, Sept. 14, 1772; Arriaga to Unzaga y Amezaga, May 30, 1774; De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, June 30, 1774 and Aug. 2, 1774; reports by De Mézières of his expedition to the Taovayas, 1778; Croix to Joseph de

Athanase De Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1769-1779

In the foregoing pages a general statement only has been made of the aims, agencies, and workings of the Indian policy which Spain put in force in Louisiana and on the Texas frontier in 1769. A detailed view of its operation in the Southwest can be obtained by studying the activities of Athanase de Mézières, lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches during the decade 1769-1779, when he was the principal director of the affairs of the Louisiana-Texas border.

As has already been intimated, under the Spanish régime in Louisiana many of the old French officers were retained in the service. Among them was De Mézières, who had been a captain at the post of Natchitoches. O'Reilly took possession of Louisiana on August 18, 1769, and on September 23 he called De Mézières to New Orleans for a conference, saying, "I know that you are better able than anyone else to give me correct information regarding everything relating to your district." As a consequence De Mézières was assigned the position of lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches, to succeed Baltazar de Villiers, another Frenchman who had been retained in the government. De Mézières's ap-

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Gálvez, Sept. 23, 1778; Bolton, "Spanish Abandonment and Reoccupation of East Texas," *op. cit.*, 117-118.

[94] Piernas to Unzaga y Amezaga, July 4, 1772 and April 21, 1773; Leyba to Bernardo de Gálvez, Nov. 16, 1778.

pointment took place on or before November 24, 1769.[95]

SUMMARY OF HIS CAREER. Athanase de Mézières was a native of Paris, St. Sulpice Parish. His father was M. Louis Christophe de Mèziéres and his mother Madam Marie Antoinette Clugny. His family had high connections, which can best be stated in his own words. Writing in March, 1779, to Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, he said:

> One of my sisters, the Baroness D'Andelot, bears a name known throughout France; the other, the Marchioness de Montessons, married Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans; my uncles, Minard de Clugny, are generals in the army; my cousin of the same name was Minister of State; my nephew, the Marquis de Genlis, is inspector of infantry; my niece is lady in waiting to Madame the Duchess of Chartres.[96]

De Mèziéres came to Louisiana apparently about 1733. Just when he went to Natchitoches, where he spent the greater portion of his career in America, has not been ascertained, but it is known that he was there as early as September 27, 1743, for on that day he witnessed the baptism of François Rondin at the parish church. His principal vocation was that of soldier at the post in the company of infantry. A summary of his services under the French government is given in a mémoire in the Archives du Ministère des Colonies at Paris, written in 1769 and transcribed in 1908 for the present writer.[97] It says:

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[95] O'Reilly to De Mézières, Sept. 23, 1769; the same to Bormé, Nov. 24, 1769. De Mézières's salary was fixed at thirty pesos, presumably per month, and his appointment was temporary. The Marqués de Grimaldi to Unzaga y Amezaga, Oct. 24, 1779, Letter no. 48. Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 174, no. 101.

[96] De Mézières to Bernardo de Gálvez, March 17, 1779.

[97] Archives du Ministère des Colonies, Piéces du dossier Demeziere: *Extrait des Registres des Commissions Brevets, Ordres du Roi et du Ministre, tenû au Cont*$^{\text{rolle}}$ *de la Marine, á la N*$^{\text{elle}}$ *Orleans, Province de la Louisianne, Mémoire* listed as of the date 1769.

> The Sieur de Mézières served in La Louisiane continuously for thirty years, up to the cession of the colony, in the capacities of ensign, lieutenant, and captain, under the orders of Messrs. de Bienville, Vaudreuil, and Kerlérec. For the zeal which he showed in the campaigns in which he was employed against the Indians and in other negotiations and missions he merited successively the promotions above-mentioned. He now requests the Cross of St. Louis, due for his long services, as well as the payment of his pension, as *capitaine reformé*, from the month of September, 1769, and reimbursement for his passage, which his Majesty granted free to all his comrades.[98]

The date of his discharge from the French service was September 15, 1763.[99] A little more light on his military career is shed by the local records of Natchitoches. In 1744 he was referred to as a cadet; in a document of 1748 his promotion is mentioned; in 1750 he was referred to as an officer of the company; in 1752 he was serving in the capacity of lieutenant; in 1756 and thereafter he had the rank of captain. From the frequent references to him and frequent signatures by him in the local archives it is evident that he was at Natchitoches quite continuously from 1743 to 1769, when he entered the Spanish service, though this does not preclude his being absent from that place many months at a time.[100] The confidence of the superior French authorities in the ability and discretion of De Mézières is shown not only by his promotion but also by the fact that in 1756, when he was serving as lieutenant-commander of the post of Natchitoches, with the rank of captain, he was appointed by Governor Kerlérec to act as joint commissioner to determine whether the Spanish presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada, just established on the lower Trinity, was on French or Spanish soil.[101]

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[98] There was in the Louisiana service after 1738 a Manguet de Mézières, son of Madame de la Haye. He was sent over by royal order of November 28 of that year, at the request of his family, to be disciplined, or reformed. In 1742 (October 29) the king, "sincerely hoping that he may be able to return to France," revoked the order. But by 1746 De Mézières had not returned, for on June 28 a ministerial despatch was written to the governor, Vaudreuil, stating that, although the king had revoked the original order, it was his intent that Vaudreuil should withhold permission for De Mézières to return, and suggesting that, since such favorable reports had been given of De Mézières, he should be promoted to the grade of *cadet á l'aiguilette*. On March 16, following, Vaudreuil replied that as he had had occasion for nothing but satisfaction with De Mézières, he would have been ready to allow him to return before, and that he had provided for the promotion suggested [Archives du Ministere des Colonies, ministerial despatch of Nov. 28, 1738, with two royal orders, B. 66, p. 9; royal order, October 29, 1742, *ibid.*, B. 74; ministerial despatch, June 28, 1746, *ibid.*, B. 83, p. 31; "copie de la lettre de M. de Vaudreuil du 16 Mars, 1747," *ibid.*, 013, 31, p. 24].

Father du Poisson, missionary to the Akensas, in a letter dated at Aukensas, Oct. 3, 1727, tells of stopping in June of that year, on his way up the Mississippi, just below Pointe Coupeé, "at the grant of Monsieur Mesieres; this has the appearance of a habitation that has only beginning. We found there cabins, negroes, and an honest rustic who did us neither good nor harm" [Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxvii, 303]. What De Mézières is meant, I have not ascertained.

[99] Archives du Ministère des Colonies, Piéces du dossier Demeziere, extract of certificate of discharge, signed by Kerlérec. On June 20, 1768 an order was issued for the payment of a pension for the years 1765 and 1766 "Au S^{r} de Mezières cy devant capitaine des Troupes entretennes à la Louisianne" [Dossier, *op. cit.* Papers marked "Mezieres, de, 400. Colonies," 1765 and 1766].

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[100] Most of the above personal information was gathered from the records of the parish church at Natchitoches, which were kindly put at my disposal by the Reverend Father A. Piegay, vicar-general of the diocese and parish priest at Natchitoches. De Mézières's full name as given in the record of his marriage is Christophe Athanase Fortunat de Mézières. In an earlier entry (April 27, 1744) it is given as Athanase Christophe Fortunat. Neither of these is a personal signature. Before he entered the services of Spain he usually signed his name in the French form, but after that event he usually hispanized it, signing "Athanacio de Mézières," or "Athanacio de Mézières y Clugny." Even while in the service of France he sometimes, when writing to Spaniards, used the Spanish form. See original letter to Father Abad, Nov. 28, 1758. Archivo General y Público, Mexico.

It would be inferred that De Mézières must have been at Natchitoches some time before September, 1743 – long enough to have formed intimate acquaintances before he was chosen as godfather. The frequent references to his name and numerous personal signatures in the local records show that he must have been at Natchitoches most of the time from 1743 to 1769, the date of his entering the Spanish service, except, perhaps, the years between 1750 and 1756, for which period no signatures or references were noted. But he was there some part of each of the following years: 1743, 1744, 1746, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1756, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1768, 1769. This list of dates is not exhaustive, and he may have been there in other years. In January, 1758, he is known to have been at New Orleans, but he had returned by March.

Besides being a soldier, De Mézières seems to have been, like other officers there, both a trader and a planter. A document of the year 1747 indicates that he had capital invested in the Indian trade, as partner of Sieur de la Fleure,[102] and in later years he is spoken of in Spanish documents as having long been an Indian trader at Natchitoches. He must have been a man of some means, for a *padrón* or census of Natchitoches, made in the year 1766, gives in the list of property following his name, among other possessions, ten thousand pounds of tobacco and thirty-five slaves. Of the latter, it is interesting to note, as characteristic of slavery on that frontier, four were Indians.[103] Though apparently well-to-do when he entered the Spanish service, he left it a bankrupt.

De Mézières's good breeding gave him rank with the best families of the frontier post, and on April 18, 1746, he was married to Marie Petronille Feliciane

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[101] Letter of Governor Kerlérec to Governor Barrios y Jauregui, of Texas, Nov. 2, 1756, in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 91. It was delivered at Adaes on Feb. 15, 1757, by De Mézières, in person. Barrios of course refused to appoint a commissioner to assist in Kerlérec's presumptuous project.

[102] Contract of partnership between La Fleure and Le Coure to trade at the Petit Village (Caddo). La Fleure agrees to furnish one hundred fifty pots of oil "for the merchandise belonging to Sieur de Mézières and the said La Fleure." Archives of Natchitoches, Court House, "Oldest Bundle, no. 101."

[103] *Relación y Plan que manifiesta el Padrón del Puesto de Natchitoches*, 1766. Ms. *Historia*, vol. 91, Archivo General, Mexico, *expediente* no. 8. The entry concerning the family of De Mézières contains the following items: men, 1; women, 1; boys, 5; girls, 1; free mestizoes, 1; negro slaves, male, 14; negro slaves, female, 9; negro boys, 1; negro girls, 5; mulattoes, male, 1; mulattoes, female, 1; savages, male, 2; savages, female, 2; fire arms, 4; side-arms, 3; horned cattle, 100; — horses, 30; hogs, 50; sheep, 60; 1000 pounds of tobacco in bundles; 400 arrobas of maize in the ear; 50 [arrobas?] of grain of different species. An arroba is a measure of weight equal to about twenty-five pounds.

Juchereau de St. Denis, daughter of the man who, for more than a quarter of a century, had controlled the destiny of western Louisiana. This alliance made De Mézières a brother-in-law of Cesaire de Blanc de Neuveville, who became successor to St. Denis as commander. De Mézières's first wife died in 1748, and later, during or before 1769, he married Dame Pelagie Fazende [Falsinthe it is sometimes written], who died in 1777, during an epidemic in which De Mézières lost also a son and a daughter, all three dying within the same week.[104]

In recognition of his services, especially among the Indians, in 1773 De Mézières was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; in 1778 he was called to Texas to serve as acting governor, a position which he did not fill; and in 1779, just before his death, he was appointed permanent governor of the province, while at the same time his promotion to a colonelcy was being considered by the king of Spain.[105]

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[104] From his first marriage there was born a daughter, Elizabeth Felicité Nepomuceno, who was baptized September 3, 1746, and who became one of the heirs to the long unsettled estate of St. Denis. From the second marriage there were several children, whose names are reproduced here as given in the church records: Louis François Marie, baptized Jan. 25, 1760, Antoine Marie, baptized Jan. 21, 1762; Marie Josefa Pelagie, baptized Nov. 9, 1763; and Marie Nicolas Zozame, baptized Aug. 15, 1768. Besides these children there were two sons the dates of whose baptisms were not found: Maria Athanase Pelagio, who was godfather at the baptism of his sister in 1763, and Marie Cesaire. One of De Mézières's daughters was sent to Europe, no doubt to be educated. She returned in 1770 after an absence of sixteen years [De Mézières to Unzaga, Feb. 2, 1770; Unzaga to De Mézières, March 15, 1770]. In 1777 what seems to have been a terrible epidemic swept over Natchitoches, for the burial records of that year show fifty deaths during the three months of Oct.-Dec. During the scourge De Mézières lost within a week (Dec. 11-17) his wife, Dame Fazende, his son Cesaire, and a daughter, Marie. In the church records for the years immediately following the death of De Mézières we find the names of Antoine, Zozimo, Jacques, Marie, and Athanase de Mézières.

There is current at Natchitoches a belief that Athanase de Mézières was a prince of the royal blood, that he never married, but left a family of mulatto children. The groundlessness of the belief is evident from the foregoing facts. It might be stated in this connection that in 1781 when the infant child of a certain free mulatto woman was baptized, Athanase de Mézières Jr., "*en cuyo nombre la tubo*," was named as godfather.

Although in the early years of his service to Spain, he was not trusted by all the Spanish officials, before he died he completely overcame the distrust. The suspicion was partly racial and arose in part from the double position which he occupied on the two sides of the Louisiana-Texas boundary. There is nothing in his known deeds or words that would indicate that he was not altogether faithful to the government under which he had fallen by a cast in the political fortunes of Louisiana. He made mistakes, mainly due to a lack of experience in civil administration; but he acknowledged and rectified them. He made enemies, but what conscientious official has not?

PERSONALITY; SKILL AS AN INDIAN AGENT. De Mézières seems to have been of that versatile type of French frontier officers like Saint Denis, who could, on occasion, make an official report to his superiors in the French language, berate a presumptuous Texas governor in Spanish, or indite a tender missive to a Franciscan *padre* in Latin. We are told that De Mézières was a mathematician of ability and we know that he had a ready command of Spanish. It is clear that he was a man of culture and of considerable information, and, if we may judge from the written version of his speeches, of eloquence. In his writings we see reflected a character at once outwardly pious and absolutely unscrupulous in a resort to treachery to undo a treacherous foe.[106] He was cautious, yet bold to make a bluff in case

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[105] De Mézières to Croix, Oct. 7, 1779, enclosing letters of Joseph de Galvez and Bernardo de Galvez; same to same, Oct. 13, 1779.

[106] Evidence of this is found in his own statement of his attempt to secure the murder of El Mocho, the Tonkawa chief, at the hands of the latter's rivals. De Mézières to Croix, Sept. 5, 1779, no. 7.

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of need. One of his enemies called him a braggart, and perhaps the imputation was not unfounded; and yet at times he showed a most delicate and sensitive modesty.

What made De Mézières particularly valuable in the Spanish service was his intimate knowledge of the Indians, among whom he is said to have spent much time in early life. A Spanish source, which may not be altogether reliable on this point, tells us that he "always lived among these Nations [of the North] trading in guns and ammunition, from the time of Don Jacinto de Barrios."[107] The nature of some of his dealings with the savages while he was in the service of France is told by himself in terms that reveal the depths to which nations may descend in the struggle for empire. Reference is here made to the personal confessions of De Mézières as to the business of scalp-buying incident to the contest of the English and the French for the control of the Mississippi Valley.[108] In a letter written in November, 1758, to one of the missionaries of Texas, on the occasion of the Indian massacre at San Sabá, he claims to have had little experience with the habits of the savages; but in the same letter he gives advice as to their management which bears the touch of the master.[109] In 1772 he was declared by the Baron de Ripperda, governor of Texas, to have "such a knowledge of these provinces of Texas and Louisiana as is possessed by no one else, and, likewise, of the tribes which surround them."[110] This reputation he easily sustained, in spite of his enemies, until he died seven years later, still in the employ of Spain.

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[107] Pacheco to O'Conor, April 20, 1774, in *Expediente sobre la dolosa pax*, 132.

[108] De Mézières to Croix, Nov. 15, 1778, on the state of Louisiana.

[109] *Carta de el Cap*^{n} *Frances* [*De Mézières*] *escrita a un misionero de Texas.* Nov. 28, 1758. Archivo General Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 84.

[110] Letter to the viceroy, July 6, 1772.

The chief service of De Mézières to the Spanish government was to win to Spanish allegiance the Nations of the North, which, though friendly to the French, had been hostile to the Spanish, and to maintain their allegiance, both in Texas and Louisiana. The story of these efforts is told in the correspondence of De Mézières with a wealth of interesting detail. It may be briefly summarized here.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. Being charged with justice, the police, and all other branches of the service, De Mézières found a multitude of things to attend to in the first year of his incumbency – matters which illustrate well the interests of the frontier post which he occupied. It is to his credit that the lack of friction with which the inhabitants of the Natchitoches district accepted the change of sovereigns was attributed by the governor of Louisiana directly to the personal influence of De Mézières. Among his many activities, De Mézières made nominations for the minor offices; he issued police regulations and expelled objectionable persons from Natchitoches; he turned his attention to the promotion of industry, experimenting with grain raising and recommending the establishment of manufactures; he aided the shipwrecked Acadians who came overland from Texas, and furnished supplies for the starving presidials of Los Adaes; he repaired the fort and government buildings, largely at his own expense; he called an assembly of citizens and raised a fund for the rebuilding of the church, himself laying the corner stone in the name of the governor; he took a census of the district (1771), and projected maps and geographical reports. Finally, he attended with much vigor to the various phases of relations with the natives.

In this work he was not always successful in the eyes of others. O'Reilly thought him too active in making nominations of persons for whom there were no places; but O'Reilly's correspondence with him was on the whole very friendly, and when he left New Orleans he wrote De Mézières an appreciation of his services (Feb. 19, 1770). With Unzaga y Amezaga he succeeded well at first. But in the performance of his judicial tasks he made some technical errors and caused several complaints; Unzaga y Amezaga accordingly reprimanded him, and set aside some of his decisions. There was even talk of De Mézières's resignation, but he repudiated the imputation and eventually he regained Unzaga's confidence. In the summer of 1770 he sold his plantation to Le Blanc, as a means of paying his debts, and that he might give more time to his office, for there was complaint against him of absenteeism.[111]

REGULATION OF THE INDIAN TRADE. After the Louisiana cession Ulloa, first Spanish governor in Louisiana, and O'Conor, acting governor in Texas, issued proclamations threatening with death any Frenchman trading in Texas. Later O'Conor claimed that by this means all trade of the kind was suppressed.[111a]

However this may be, Ulloa soon concluded that the French system of trade and presents for the friendly tribes must be continued. The force of this opinion was demonstrated in December, 1767, when an attempt was made to cut off the trade with the Yatasí. A trader named Du Buche, on his way to that village, being stopped at O'Conor's orders, the tribe rose in rebellion, held a meeting, and planned to attack one of the Texas presidios, but was deterred by their chief, Guakan.

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[111] This paragraph is based on the study of De Mézières's correspondence for the whole of the first year following his appointment.

[111a] O'Conor to the viceroy, May 8, 1773. *Historia*, vol. 51, *expediente* 1, f. 101.

The affair being reported to Ulloa by Saint Denis, Guakan was pacified and the trade permitted to continue.

Operating under Ulloa's orders, apparently, Villiers permitted French traders to go freely to the tribes of Louisiana and Texas without restriction as to time or place. Among those to whom he gave licenses were Barré, Gagneé, Lemoine, Blot, and Mancière. When O'Reilly took charge of the province, he continued the trade with the friendly tribes, but proceeded to cut it off from the enemies. To effect the former policy he ordered De Mézières to continue the annual presents to the Cadodacho, Petit Cado, and Yatasí, and to provide them with bonded traders, the contract to furnish the presents being let to a man named Ranzon. De Mézières proceeded promptly to carry out the orders. Within a short time he had communicated with chiefs Tinhioüen and Cocay, of the Cadodacho and Yatasí respectively, informed them of their selection as medal chiefs, and arranged for a meeting with them at Natchitoches. This gathering was held on April 21, 1770, when the chiefs formally ceded their lands to the king, and promised to receive the presents and the traders, and to use their influence in making peace with and in controlling the Nations of the North.

As traders to these villages De Mézières appointed Alexis Grappé, Dupain, and Fazende Morière. In his approval of the appointment, O'Reilly stipulated that these men should not monopolize the trade of their respective villages. On February 3, De Mézières made a contract with Juan Piseros to furnish the goods for the traders, he to deliver them at Natchitoches on a year's credit, and to receive in payment bear's fat at twenty-five sous a pot, buffalo hides at ten livres each, or deerskins at thirty-five sous apiece, as he chose. Piseros went to New Orleans to get the goods, and was ready to return by March 16. Other men besides these three engaged in the trade. In the summer of 1770 De Mézières licensed Cesaire Bormé, commander of the post, to trade with the village of the Yatasí, in consideration of having furnished goods to traders in the past for which he had received no pay. Bormé got his goods of Joanis, of Natchitoches, agent of Voix. In the same summer, De Mézières settled a dispute over some furs between Antoine Charbonet and Esteban Pavie [Ruiz], deciding in favor of Pavie, on the ground that all the trade was being monopolized by the former, contrary to O'Reilly's instructions.[112]

In 1771 the trade of San Luis de Cadodachos was in the hands of Don Matthas le Court, a retired officer, welcome to the Indians and conversant with them, and "of small means and large family." He was supplied by one of his creditors, Don Antonio [Charbonet?]. M. Fazende, the brother-in-law of De Mézières, was placed this year in the village of the Petit Cado, and Bormé "without change," was in charge of the trade of the Yatasí.[113]

O'Reilly had ordered De Mézières and other post commanders to cut off trade among the Indians in horses, mules, and captives, to prohibit all commerce with the hostile tribes, that they might be coerced into friendship; and to expel from the villages all unlicensed traders, vagabonds [*coureurs de bois*],[113a] and outlaws, promising pardon for such as had committed no heinous crime. De Mézières proceeded to carry out these orders with a vigor that entailed complaints and enmities. As illustrations of his activities, in January, 1770, he confiscated four Indian slaves bought among the enemies; seized and sold at auction a drove of horses and mules purchased among the Indians by Duchesne, Poeyfarré, and Pavie; and expelled from Natchitoches, some of them at least for contraband Indian trade, Villars, Dartigo, Duvivier, Durand, Poeyfarré, and Menard. Early in the same year he confiscated horses and mules secured by Barré from the Nacogdoches and Nadacogs, as well as goods belonging to Brognard and Riddé, other contraband traders. One result of this apparently effective curtailment of the trade with the enemies is seen in the statement that the Taovayas, "seeing themselves without the accustomed supplies furnished them through the disordered greed of the traders," withdrew for a time in 1770 to the north, hoping perhaps, to get supplies from the Arkansas traders. At the same time that he cut off supplies from the Norteños, he took steps to conciliate them by invoking the good offices of Tinhioüen, by sending a courier among them to arrange for a conference, and by asking the governor's permission to take them to San Antonio to make peace before the governor of Texas.

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[112] In October, when De Mézières went up the Red River, there was a trader, apparently Morière, at the Yatasí village, living with an Apache woman; Du Pain, with his engagés, was at the village of the Petit Cado; and Grappé, with several other Frenchmen, was at Cadodacho, where he occupied as a storehouse the old French fort. One of the Frenchmen there, a man over seventy years of age, was said to have been living there more than thirty years. Another had four or five Apache squaws, and a grown up son who had never been baptized.

[113] De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, March 14, 1771. Le Court was still at Cadodachos in July, for at that time he had just sent a message to De Mézières concerning the Taovayas. De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, July 31, 1771.

With the "vagabonds" and outlaws living among the tribes, De Mézières proceeded with equal vigor, but not always with the same harshness. In May he reported that of twenty-eight persons of this class, in which unlicensed traders were included, all but four had returned to civilization, namely, Riddé and Brognard, Blot and Mancière. The first two soon afterward returned and were sent to New Orleans, while about the same time Blot and Mancière were killed by the Nabedache and Nacogdoche, a crime for which they gave satisfaction by taking to Natchitoches the head of one of the perpetrators. Among the "vagabonds" who came in we learn the names of Lami, François Beaudoin, "a magnate" of the Arkansas, and François Morvant. The last-named, at the instance of Chief Tinhioüen, was permitted to return and live with the friendly Cadodacho.[114]

[113a] In these documents the Spanish writers use *coureurs de bois* as synonymous with *vagamundo*, or "vagabond," and as a term of opprobrium.

THE EXPEDITION TO THE CADODACHO IN 1770. In the fall of 1770, De Mézières went to the village of the Cadodacho, on the Red River, to undertake the beginning of what he recognized to be his principal mission, the winning of the Nations of the North. He had begun soon after his appointment, as we have seen, to arrange for a conference with the tribes, but Unzaga's permission was given grudgingly. Conducted by three chiefs, and going by the way of the Adaes, Yatasí, and Petit Cado, De Mézières met at the appointed place the chiefs of the Taovayas, Tawakoni, Yscanis, and Kichai, tribes all hitherto hostile to the Spaniards. Through the aid of

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[114] Documentary evidence on which the last few paragraphs are based will be found in the following correspondence: Ulloa to O'Conor, minute of undated letter written in 1768; passport issued by Villiers to Gagneé and Lemoine, Jan. 18, 1768; declaration of Barré, June 8, 1770; De Mézières to Unzaga, June 10, 1770 and May 15, 1770; O'Reilly to De Mézières, Jan. 22, 1770, several communications; list of presents for the tribes; O'Reilly to De Mézières, Jan. 17, 1770 and Jan. 23, 1770; De Mézières to Unzaga, Feb. 1, 1770; Unzaga to De Mézières, March 16, 1770; memorial of Bormé to Unzaga, Nov. 3, 1770; Unzaga y Amezaga to Bormé, Nov. 20, 1770; De Mézières to Unzaga, Aug. 31, 1770; reports of the conference of 1770 at Cadodachos.

Tinhioüen, and by impassioned speech, which appealed now to fear, now to cupidity, he extracted from them professions of amity and a promise that they would go to San Antonio de Béxar to ratify before the governor a treaty of peace. De Mézières's report of this expedition, in addition to recording the event, throws valuable light upon Indian relations at and previous to the time when the expedition was made, and especially upon the geographical readjustment of some of the tribes that attended the Louisiana cession and the cessation of their hostilities against the Spaniards. The account of the same expedition written four years later by Fray Santa María y Silva, who accompanied De Mézières, the testimony given by the soldiers of Los Adaes who also went with him, and the spying of Joseph de la Peña, under orders from Unzaga y Amezaga, upon De Mézières's acts, all illustrate the jealousy and suspicion with which the Spaniards continued to regard the French long after Louisiana had been transferred to Spain.

THE TREATIES OF 1771 WITH THE NATIONS OF THE North. The soldiers who testified concerning the occurrences at Cadodachos, and, echoing them, the governor of Louisiana himself, all claimed to believe that the promises of the Indians would not be kept, but that, on the contrary, the expedition would only increase their hostility. But De Mézières took a different view, and the event proved that he was right, for in 1771 treaties of peace were effected with the Kichai, Tawakoni, Yscanis, Caimones,[115] and Taovayas, and by proxy of these, with the Tonkawa.

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[115] This tribe is apparently the same as the Cahinnio [see *Handbook of American Indians*, part i, 184]. Joutel in 1687 called them the Cahainohoua [Relation, in Margry's *Découvertes*, vol. iii]. They were then evidently north of the Red River in southwestern Arkansas. Espinosa tells us that while Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus María was in Texas between 1690-1692 he was miraculously carried by "a man of Venerable aspect (who must have been

In bringing these treaties about, the efforts of De Mézières were supplemented by those of Ripperda, the Texas missionaries, and the chief of the Hainai, or Texas, tribe, who had been granted a medal. After his return to Natchitoches, De Mézières had requested permission to go again to Cadodacho to conclude the treaties for which he had arranged in October. The request was referred by the governor of Louisiana to Ripperda, who, instead of replying, took advantage of the good offices of Father Pedro Ramírez, president of the eastern missions, and Fray Francisco Sedano, both of whom were well acquainted with the interior tribes, and who were just then about to make a journey to eastern Texas. Being instructed by Ripperda to try to induce Bigotes, the Hainai chief, to act as intermediary with the tribes in question, they succeeded, through the coöperation of De Mézières. Soon thereafter Luis Pablo le Blanc de Villeneufve, accompanied by Father Sedano and Bigotes, went among the tribes and brought four chiefs of the Yscanis, Tawakoni, Kichai, and Cainiones to Natchitoches, where treaties were solemnized, the contracting parties, as a sign of harmony, wrapping themselves in the same Spanish flag. The chiefs named spoke also for the Tonkawa, but instead of going in person to San Antonio to ratify the treaties they delegated that task to Bigotes. He performed the commission, and in return for the service Ripperda made him *capitan grande* and gave him the new name of Sauto.[116] These

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some Angel)" northward from his mission among the Nabedache more than one hundred leagues to a settlement believed by Espinosa to have been that called Cainio, and its people Canigua [*Chrónica Apóstolica*, 281, 1746]. Without passing an opinion as to the visit of Casañas, it seems probable that the Cainio known to Espinosa were the Cahinohoua mentioned by Joutel. In 1763 the Cahinnio were evidently on the Arkansas River near the Mento [*Handbook, ibid.*].

[116] De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, July 3, 1771; Ripperda to Unzaga

treaties were followed a few months later by one with the Taovayas and in 1774 by one with the Naytane, a branch of the Comanche.

Typical of all these treaties was that signed at Natchitoches on October 27, 1771, by the representatives of the provinces of Louisiana and Texas on the one hand, and the chiefs of the Taovayas tribe on the other. Chief Tinhioüen at this time again exercised his good offices, conducting the Taovayas to Natchitoches and witnessing the solemnization of the agreement. By the terms of the compact the Taovayas engaged to be responsible for the good behavior of the Comanche and to coerce them, if necessary, to keep the peace. They agreed also to go to San Antonio to ratify the treaty, a promise which was fulfilled in the following April, when Chief Quirotaches and his associates enacted before Governor Ripperda the ceremony of burying the hatchet.[117]

In December, 1771, De Mézières secured from Gorgoritos, medal chief of the Bidai-Arkokisa, a formal promise to use his influence with the Karankawa to have them stop their outrages on shipwrecked mariners and assist in securing the return of apostates from the missions.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1772 TO THE UPPER BRAZOS RIVER. Unzaga y Amezaga was now apparently convinced of the genuineness of De Mézières's work, for on October 4, 1771, he instructed him to extend the system of bonded traders to the new allies if, in De Mézières's judgment, the treaties were to be relied upon.[118] Likewise, Ripperda thanked De Mézières for his good work in securing the treaties, and urged Unzaga y Amezaga to permit

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y Amezaga, Dec. 31, 1771; the same to the viceroy, April 28, 1772; De Mézières, report of his expedition, July 4, 1772.

[117] Articles of peace agreed upon at Natchitoches, Oct. 27, 1771.

[118] Unzaga y Amezaga to De Mézières, Oct. 4, 1771.

him to make another embassy. Accordingly, to cement more securely the friendship of the new allies, to acquire information as to their location, customs, and strength, and to conduct their chiefs to San Antonio to confer with the governor, De Mézières was sent on a tour among their villages. This step was made more urgent by the report that the Apache, toward whom at all hazards the friends of the Spaniards must be kept hostile, were seeking an alliance with the Bidai, and the rumor that the new allies were communicating through other tribes with the English to the northeast, as were the Bidai and Arkokisa by way of the Gulf coast.

Leaving Natchitoches in the latter part of March, 1772, Joseph de la Peña being made *ad interim* lieutenant-governor, De Mézières crossed the Sabine, Angelina and Neches Rivers, and entered the Quitseis [Kichai] village near the Trinity, with which tribe his report begins. From here he passed on to the Yscanis and Tawakoni, on opposite sides of the Trinity, to the Tonkawa still further west, and to a second Tawakoni village on the right bank of the Brazos, near modern Waco. From this point he proceeded up the Brazos some two hundred miles to the Wichita village, where he communicated with the Taovayas on the Red River. Going thence directly southward across some of the roughest country of western Texas he reached San Antonio on June 16, with seventy Indians of the various tribes in his train. He had spent eighty-seven days on the expedition. The report which he made of his tour furnishes us, in some cases, our first as well as our most valuable information concerning the tribes which he visited. This fact will give the report, when it becomes known, the character of a classic.

While on this expedition De Mézières learned that through the Panis-mahas, who were now moving south from the Missouri, the Taovayas were securing English guns and other goods in exchange for horses. To cut off this dangerous communication he urged the Wichita, Taovayas, and the Tawakoni of the Brazos, to move inland, farther away from English influence, and to form a cordon of settlements, to be covered by a Spanish presidio, as a protection for themselves against the Osage and as a bulwark for the Spaniards against both the Osage and the English. This removal the tribes promised to undertake after the coming harvest, but the promise remained unfulfilled. Likewise, although Governor Ripperda enthusiastically urged the adoption of De Mézières's plan for a new presidio in the north, recommending the appointment of Luis de St. Denis, of Natchitoches (the same St. Denis who a decade earlier had been accused of bribing the Indians to destroy the settlement of San Agustín de Ahumada), as its commander, the government disapproved the project and it failed.

Nevertheless, the first great Indian problem that had arisen on the Texas frontier from the Louisiana cession, namely, the winning of the allegiance of the formerly hostile Nations of the North, had now been adjusted in a fairly satisfactory manner. Though there was much suspicion that De Mézières could not be trusted, and that the peace was only pretended [*fingida*], and although complaints were made of damages done even at San Antonio by some of the tribes involved, yet official record was made in 1778 by a *junta* of the leading officers of the frontier that, with the exception of the Comanche, the tribes had kept their promise.[119] Though not strictly true, this statement was probably correct in the main.

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[119] De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, February 25, 1772; *Expediente sobre proposiciones del Gobernador de Texas*, etc. Cited in *footnote* 92; Report of the junta de guerra held at San Antonio de Béxar, Jan. 5, 1778.

While at San Antonio, De Mézières proposed to undertake in the following spring, at his own expense but with the aid of the newly-made friends, a campaign against the common enemy, the Apache,[120] the allies to be permitted to sell their captives at San Antonio, as a means of encouraging such expeditions against the Apache and of saving the captives from death. An outline of the plan was presented to Ripperda in the form of a memorial,[121] which Ripperda approved and sent to the viceroy, proposing at the same time that he himself should lead an attack on the Apache from another direction.[122] The governor would have sent De Mézières to Mexico to confer with the viceroy on the state of affairs on the frontier had he not regarded it of more immediate importance that he should hasten to cut off the impending alliance between the Apache and the Bidai.

On his way back to Natchitoches in July, De Mézières was accompanied as far as the Neches by Father Joseph Abad, who was bent on restoring to their mission of Espíritu Santo the apostate Xaranames whom De Mézières had assembled at the Tawakoni village on the Trinity on his outward trip. The efforts of the missionary were without avail. Although De Mézières offered to assist in another attempt, he charged the failure to the friar's lack of patience, while Father Abad spread abroad his suspicions of the Frenchman's bad faith and corruption, and asked permission to go to New Orleans to report them to Unzaga y Amezaga. This permission was given him by his superiors, and sanctioned by Ripperda, but was subsequently reversed.

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[120] De Mézières to Ripperda, July 4, 1772. The campaign was to take place in April or May of the following year.

[121] Unless it was the letter of July 4, cited above, this document has not been seen by the editor.

[122] Bonilla states that Ripperda proposed enlisting in Louisiana three hundred *chasseurs* [hunters] to be employed in war against the Indians of the North. ["Breve Compendio," in Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. viii, 63.] When and under what circumstances he did this is not clear, but it would seem that it must have been before De Mézières took a hand in the problem.

At the Hasinai De Mézières stopped, according to his plan, to discuss Apache affairs with the Bidai chiefs, whom he met there, and was successful in securing a promise of their alliance against the Apache. While in eastern Texas he heard bad news of some sort from his family, and, instead of going with Father Abad to the Tawakoni village, he left the escort with his nephew, Nicolás Layssard, and hurried home. After his arrival at Natchitoches, on learning from Ripperda that four Apache chiefs and their bands were on the way to the Hasinai and Bidai to make a treaty, De Mézières arranged, through a messenger, Alexis Grappé, that, under the guise of friendship these tribes should betray and massacre the Apache emissaries.[123]

No sooner had De Mézières reached Natchitoches than Joseph de la Peña went at the governor's orders to Nacogdoches and Los Ais to spy upon him. At Nacogdoches Peña met Father Abad, and from him he got the impression that De Mézières had misrepresented his treaties with the northern tribes. Though Peña scoffed at De Mézières's simplicity, as he represented it, maintaining that the Hasinai chief, Bigotes, took the order to attack the Apaches as a joke and laughed behind De Mézières's back, yet it is from Peña's own pen that we learn later that the order was carried out, three of the Apache messengers being massacred in Bigotes's own dwelling.[124]

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[123] De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, Aug. 20, 1772, nos. 4 and 5.

[124] Peña to Unzaga y Amezaga, Sept. 14, 1772 (four letters) and Jan. 18, 1773.

JOURNEY TO EUROPE: PROMOTION. For nearly a year after his return from Texas De Mézières was in Europe, where he visited the courts of both France and Spain. Early in 1772 he had requested permission to go to France "to recuperate his health and settle various matters of private business which he had pending in those realms." This request, supported by a despatch of Unzaga y Amezaga dated February 27, was granted by the king of Spain on November 16. On April 23 he secured a passport, and it would seem that his departure took place in this month.[125]

On November 8, while he was abroad, De Mézières was promoted for his services by the king of Spain to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry.[126] It was apparently during his absence, also, that he was created knight of the Order of St. Louis.

In the absence of De Mézières, Balthazar de Villiers, commander at Pointe Coupée, had acted as lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches. One of Villiers's most notable acts was the sending of Gaignard to make a treaty with the Naytane [Comanche], an enterprise in which he was at least nominally successful. In February, 1774, De Mézières was back in New Orleans, and on March 17 he reached Natchitoches, bearing orders to relieve Villiers, who returned to his post at Pointe Coupée.[127] On his return De Mézières was visited and heartily welcomed by the chiefs of most of the friendly tribes.

THE EXTENSION OF THE FUR TRADE TO THE NEW ALLIES. It has been seen that in consequence of the treaties of 1771 Unzaga y Amezaga in October of that year ordered De Mézières to extend the trade system to the new allies if he thought best.[128]

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[125] Arriaga to Unzaga y Amezaga, San Lorenzo, Nov. 16, 1772; Passport, cited above, original in the Bancroft Collection. The exact date of De Mézières's request does not appear, but in view of the date of Unzaga's despatch it is inferred that the request was not made before 1772.

[126] Unzaga y Amezaga to Villiers, Feb. 21, 1774.

[127] Unzaga y Amezaga to Villiers, Feb. 21, two letters; De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, March 24, 1774.

The exact details of the process by which De Mézières carried out the order do not appear, but there is plenty of evidence that he did establish traders promptly among the Nations of the North and that they were soon working also among the eastern Texas tribes, if they had not been doing so all the time. On this there are many items of information. For example: writing on July 4, 1772, his report of his expedition among the tribes, De Mézières stated that they all had been supplied with bonded traders from Natchitoches, according to O'Reilly's orders, and specifically described the trade of the Kichai, which consisted mainly in the exchange of buffalo and deer skins for arms, ammunition, and other goods with the citizens of Natchitoches. The Bidai at this time must have been well provided with firearms, if there was any truth in the many complaints that they were supplying the Apache. When Father Abad went among the Tawakoni to recover the Xaraname in the summer of 1772, he found the tribe well supplied with French guns and ammunition, and with so much French tobacco that his was no object to them. In his report of the expedition, he said that the trade was "excessive," and claimed to believe that De Mézières was interested in it. In September, 1772, it is learned through the letters of Peña to Unzaga that De Mézières was sending messengers among the traders, and new traders to displace some of the old ones. Before that time Dugene [Duchesne] had been established by De Mézières among the Taovayas, and Lemé among the Kichai. La Lima was absent on private business with the Taovayas, and Jantillome had just gone to the same place to escort and introduce a squadron of soldiers from Adaes, sent by Ripperda. Lemé was at the time held by De Mézières in Natchitoches and made to pay some debts of his partner, Morvant, who was absent, apparently with the Kichai. Peña added that the "Norteños," who had for several years been without supplies, were now, since the traders had been reëstablished, all very friendly. Perhaps one of the traders among the "Norteños" was Layssard, elder son, for in 1774 he was said to have lived three years with the Tawakoni and Xaraname, to know their languages, and to be much loved by them. In the spring of 1773 he was apparently on the Red River, for at that time he saw the Panis-mahas. In March, 1773, a Frenchman went with a party of Taovayas to San Antonio de Béxar with letters from two Frenchmen,

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[128] Shortly afterward, in November of the same year, Unzaga y Amezaga recommended M. Lamate [Lamathe] as suitable for the Indian trade, and again urged the merits of Bormé for the same enterprise, perhaps in both cases with the new field in mind.

> Who, with three others, they report, are permanently established in these nations by order of Don Atanacio de Mézières . . . provided with a large amount of merchandise to supply the nations with firearms, powder, balls, knives, axes, and other goods liked by those Indians, which greedy and injurious commerce even the citizens of Los Adaes practice with great freedom.

In July, 1773, Villiers wrote to the governor of Louisiana that Duchesne was causing dissensions among the tribes by his bad conduct.[129]

In the fall of 1773 J. Gaignard, a resident of Opelousas, was sent up the Red River by Villiers to make peace with the Naytane [Comanche], who continued to trouble the San Antonio settlers. That his enterprise was as much a trading venture as a diplomatic mission is clear from the fact that he went at his own expense, took a cargo of goods, and proposed, after the completion of his mission, to go with the Taovayas on a campaign against the Osage, selling in Louisiana, if permitted, the captives he might secure. With him was associated Sosier, with whom he quarreled. At the Cadodacho village he was joined by Layssard, *fils aine*, bound for the Taovayas with a cargo of goods and a flag for the chief. Leaving the Cadodacho on January 16, they were just a month in reaching the Taovayas. While they were there, Sosier was sent back to Natchitoches, but returned later, accompanied by Beaudoin, bringing a letter from De Mézières and another cargo of goods.

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[129] Unzaga y Amezaga to De Mézières, Nov. 11, 1771; De Mézières, Informe, July 4, 1772; Ripperda to the viceroy, August 25, 1772; to Unzaga y Amezaga, same date; De la Peña to Unzaga y Amezaga, Sept. 14, 1772, several letters; Gaignard, Journal, 1773-1774; Menchaca to O'Conor, April 15, 1773; Villiers to Unzaga y Amezaga, Jan. 27, 1774, referring to a letter of July 31, 1773.

They found the Taovayas in bad humor, complaining that De Mézières had not kept his promise to visit them and take them presents, and that their most profitable kind of trade with Natchitoches, that in horses, mules, and slaves, had been cut off. They prevented Gaignard from going on to the Naytane, but the head chief of that tribe visited him, accompanied by some four thousand warriors, and made a treaty. The Taovayas had found a means of repairing the bad effects of the trade restrictions, for while Gaignard was there they were visited by two different parties of French traders, without licenses, from the Arkansas, who came to buy horses, mules, and slaves. One of the parties took back with them fifty-three animals. In view of this situation Gaignard, who no doubt voiced the opinion of the traders of Natchitoches, urged in his report that the trade in these forbidden articles again be opened to them, as a means of keeping the Indians good natured, and that the Arkansas men be strictly kept out. Another recommendation made by him was that Layssard, because of his experience with them, be stationed with the Tawakoni, and charged with making annual visits to the Taovayas.

Before returning to Natchitoches, Layssard went overland with a convoy to the Tawakoni. At the same time, in August, Gaignard returned down the Red River, arriving at Natchitoches in November. Layssard, Beaudoin, and Sosier reached there a few weeks later.[130]

In January, 1774, Duchesne was reported to be still causing trouble among the tribes, and to have gone to San Antonio. Perhaps he was the trader mentioned by Ripperda as having gone from the Taovayas to San Antonio early that year. In February three Frenchmen went from San Antonio with a party of twenty Spanish soldiers to look for a mine said to be near the Taovayas. In the spring of 1774 there was much complaint of Frenchmen living at San Antonio. Ripperda explained that they were either interpreters or artisans who had been settled there many years, and in no way connected with the Indian trade. At this time "several French merchants" were said to be living, with their families, among the Tonkawa; and it was stated that French traders owed their suppliers more than six hundred horses, which must be secured from the Indians, though contraband. When Ybarbo went in 1774 to establish the town of Bucareli on the Trinity he found among the Bidai traders from Adaes and Natchitoches. Soon afterward La Mathe, who later became a "magnate," began to frequent the place. Besides these traders, who appear to have been licensed in Louisiana, several contraband traders were reported in 1774 as operating on the coast. Among them we learn of Clermont, Boisdoré, Bontières, and Juan Hamilton.[131]

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[130] J. Gaignard, *Journal tenus exat*, 1773-1774.

The evils of the administration of the two adjacent provinces from different centers had long before this become apparent. Foreseeing, no doubt, the disadvantages of making the new allies dependent alone on Louisiana for supplies and presents, and perhaps seeing an opportunity to give Texas the advantage of a welcome Indian trade, Ripperda early in 1772 urged that supplies and presents be furnished the new allies from Texas. Writing to the viceroy April 28, he said:

> The manifest advantages of the peace which we are happily securing with the different barbarian nations of this north cannot be secured without supplying them with annual presents and affording them trade in guns and in ammunition as well. For, as they are now accustomed to the presents which in Louisiana were annually given to the friendly nations in the king's name and even now continue to be given at least to the faithful Cadodacho, and to trading their peltry for guns, ammunition, breechcloths, hunting knives, beads, and other things which they prize, they despise friends who do not afford this trade, it being more to their interest to make war upon us, for, in exchange for the horses which they steal, they secure whatever they desire from the French, and failing to get it there, they will obtain it easily, and with greater injury to us, from the English.

Proceeding on this assumption, and while waiting for instructions and a decision regarding his proposal for a presidio among the northern tribes, Ripperda sent presents to the chiefs of five of the northern nations, who had been at San Antonio with De Mézières. For this purpose he despatched a squad of five soldiers from Los Adaes, escorted by the Frenchman named Jantillome, from Natchitoches, with two mule cargoes of goods, worth two hundred fifty dollars. They returned in September, and in October another embassy was sent north from San Antonio to conciliate the tribes.

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[131] Villiers to Unzaga y Amezaga, Jan. 27, 1774; Ripperda to the viceroy, June 28, 1774; Medina to O'Conor, March 8, 1774; Ripperda to the viceroy, June 28, 1774; Menchaca to O'Conor, March 9, 1774. Bolton, "Spanish Abandonment and Reoccupation of East Texas," 119-123.

On the other hand, while firmly supporting the treaties and asserting their usefulness as a means of protecting Texas, Ripperda protested mildly against the invasion of Texas by French traders. Upon the receipt of Father Abad's report of their activities among the Tawakoni, he reported the matter to the viceroy, debated with the missionary fathers the plan of sending Father Abad to New Orleans to remonstrate, and complained to Unzaga by letter. In a communication of September 8, he stated that in his opinion the trade of the French should be confined to the Cadodacho, for so he had understood O'Reilly's order, and that it seemed strange that the traders "should go beyond this, reaching out now as never before to the nations who live in this province, whence the goods pass to the hands of the Apache, with manifest injury to the frontiers of this kingdom." However, in a fair-minded way which was characteristic of the man, he confessed imperfect knowledge of the laws of Louisiana, and as to what trade was legal from that side. Unzaga replied that the trade complained of was perfectly legitimate, "and that if any abuse had crept in" he "would have suppressed it." Thereupon Ripperda subsided.[132]

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[132] Ripperda to the viceroy, April 28, 1772, Sept. 8, 1772, Oct. 26, 1772, Dec. 3, 1772; Ripperda to Unzaga y Amezaga, Sept. 8, 1772, and Feb. 2, 1773. According to Ripperda, Unzaga replied "that the commerce of that province is with the Indians of the tribes of his district, whose limits [el que] are not yet determined above where the Texas live, he having prohibited the rest; that if there were any abuse he would suppress it, for which he had given the proper orders; that the savages are wanderers, one tribe supplying another and the English all of them; in consequence of which he is of the opinion that these are the sellers, rather than the French depending on the fort of Natchi-

Ripperda's proposal to open trade in Texas with the northern tribes and to furnish them presents of arms and ammunition met a scathing criticism in Mexico, where the authorities stood firmly by the time honored Indian policy of New Spain, regardless of the conflicting system in vogue in Louisiana. Areche, the royal fiscal, writing on July 31, 1772, maintained that to furnish arms to the tribes was contrary to principle, that it would make them dangerous (seeming to forget that they would get them from Louisiana anyway), and that they might better be provided with agricultural implements. Proceeding on this advice, the viceroy forbade Ripperda to give presents to the new allies or to open commerce with them; and to repeated requests and repeated reports that his orders were not being observed, he oft reiterated the command.[133]

It was during this interval that the general attack was made on De Mézières and his work among the tribes, and upon Ripperda for his support of the Frenchman. The charge was led by Hugo O'Conor, then in Texas as *inspector comandante* and engaged in reforming the line of frontier defences. To his support he called Captain Menchaca and Fathers Santa María and Abad, while at the same time the tongue of calumny wagged at Natchitoches, Peña being followed by Gaignard. The complaints made in Texas against De Mézières were, as has been intimated, that the treaties which he had made with the Nations of the North were deceitful and pretended [*dolosa y fingida*]; that these tribes were still hos-

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toches." Ripperda went on to add: "What is certain is that the weapons which the Apache possess are all of French make, and that they have acquired them through the Vidais, who live within and almost in the center of this province" [Ripperda to the viceroy, Dec. 3, 1772. *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 67].

[133] Areche to the viceroy, July 31, 1772; the viceroy to Ripperda, Dec. 9, 1772, Jan. 6, 1773, May 8, and May 26, 1774.

tile to the Spaniards; that the French traders, of whom De Mézières was said to be the chief, profited by trade in the very horses which the nations could now steal from the Spaniards when they entered the settlements under the guise of friendship; that the French were conducting "excessive" trade among the friendly tribes, were carrying on contraband trade in the Spanish settlements, and were freely employed by Ripperda as messengers to De Mézières.[134] Peña added his portion of complaint, and Gaignard reported that the treaty which De Mézières had made with the Taovayas was ineffectual because he had broken his promise.

Ripperda made a straightforward and vigorous defense of his own policy and of De Mézières, but the viceroy listened to the charges, which were presented through the influential O'Conor, and on May 8, 1774, ordered Ripperda not only not to observe under existing conditions the treaties with the Indians, but also "absolutely to cut off communication with the governor of Natchitoches and all the rest of the Frenchmen,[135] not permitting them in that presidio under any circumstances." The order was repeated on July 26, 1775. It could not have been intended to expel the French traders from the Nations of the North, but merely to keep them from the Spanish settlements and to cut off Ripperda's communication with De Mézières.

During the succeeding years some additional light is thrown upon the operations of the French traders in Texas. In August, 1775, Bormé, captain of the militia, was living at the Hainai village as trader. Luis de Quindse had just been sent by De Mézières to the Tawakoni, charged "with the trade, diplomacy and inspection" of the tribe. Associated with him in the trade of this tribe and the Kichai was Marrafret Layssard, and between them they had two employes named Juan Bosquet and Miguel Pichet living with the Tawakoni. At the same time Baptiste Layssard and Nicholas Chef, the latter an employe of Morvant, were trading among the Tawakoni and Kichai.[136] Writing in April, 1777, Ripperda stated of the Bidai and Arkokisa tribes that traders from Natchitoches "frequent these nations just as they do the northern Indians of our frontier," and that they had been a means of keeping out the English, "who were already beginning to introduce themselves among these nations by way of the coast, giving presents to the chiefs and selling to the rest arms, ammunition, and other objects of Indian trade so cheaply that they already show preference for them over the traders of Natchitoches." In June of the same year he requested of Bernardo de Gálvez that De Mézières be instructed to continue to watch over the conduct of the traders among the Nations of the North, taking care that they should not sell goods to the Comanche, who were still hostile. In 1778 De Mézières wrote that

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[134] *Expediente sobre la dolosa paz.*

[135] Bucareli to Ripperda, May 8, 1774 and July 26, 1775. Ms. in the Béxar Archives. B. A. Miscellaneous, 1742-1793.

> In each of these villages, not including the Comanche country, there resides a Spanish merchant of Natchitoches, well versed in writing, skilled in the language of the Indians with whom he deals, acceptable to them, and the ablest obtainable to inculcate in them the love and respect which it is desired they should have for us. It is his duty to watch over their conduct, maintain the general union, and report without delay anything of interest to the service of his Majesty and to the peace of his subjects.[137]

These data make it clear that after the Louisiana cession the Nations of the North continued to be controlled mainly from Natchitoches and mainly through French traders, while the latter gained freer access than ever to the tribes of eastern Texas.

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[136] Investigation by De Mézières of the death of two Tawakoni Indians, Aug., 1775.

[137] Ripperda to Croix, April 27, 1777; Ripperda to Bernardo de Galvez, June 8, 1777; De Mézières to Croix, Feb. 20, 1778. In 1779 it is stated that M. Roujot is unable to pay his debts, in part because the European war has made furs worthless [De Mézières to Bernardo de Gálvez, May 24, 1779].

The coming of Croix to the frontier in 1777 as commandant-general was taken advantage of by Ripperda to make another attempt to make these traders responsible to himself, he arguing particularly that it would facilitate the restoration of apostates to the missions. Croix agreed that the request was just, and even declared himself opposed to the trade in firearms with the northern tribes as bad in principle. But being more interested at the time in his plans to destroy the Apachería, and fearing that "any measure taken against the traders of Louisiana might be disastrous," by either causing a revolt or driving the tribes to the English, he declined for the time being to interfere.[138]

REORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCIAS INTERNAS; Croix's Plans. Affairs had now so shaped themselves that De Mézières was again called to Texas and into even greater prominence in the direction of the affairs of the northeastern frontier of New Spain. In 1776 the Interior Provinces [*Provincias Internas*] were reorganized and, put under a commandant-general, practically independent of the viceroy, with his capital at Chihuahua. The first commandant-general, Don Theodoro de Croix, or El Cavallero de Croix, as he styled himself, found that the most serious task awaiting his attention was to check the Indian hostilities of the frontier, particularly those of the Apache, and with a vigor and intelligence somewhat new to the northern provinces he set himself about accomplishing it. It is indicative of the importance of that frontier that he began with the northeast.

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[138] Ripperda to Croix, Oct. 28, 1777; Croix to Joseph de Gálvez, Sept. 23, 1778.

Croix had his plans outlined even before he left Mexico, and they were linked with his friendship for Don Bernardo de Gálvez, *the brilliant young soldier who* had recently taken charge of the province of Louisiana. The essence of his plan was to unite the Nations of the North and three hundred or four hundred *cazadores*, or hunters, of Louisiana, commanded by Gálvez, with the soldiery of the Interior Provinces, commanded by himself, in a joint campaign against the eastern Apache. It is seen at a glance that this is only a repetition of the proposal made by Ripperda in 1772, which probably originated with De Mézières. In addition Croix asked for two thousand more troops for the Interior Provinces.[139]

Notwithstanding the fact that Croix's plans were already formed, to secure their approval or modification by the frontier officers and to consider measures adapted to carrying them out, he in person held a *junta de guerra* [council of war] at Monclova in December, 1777, one at San Antonio de Béxar on January 5, 1778, and several at Chihuahua in June, 1778. In each of these meetings he presented for discussion and information sixteen points, or questions, regarding the Apache tribes, on the one hand, and the Nations of the North, on the other hand, their divisions, habitat, fighting strength, and depredations; the feasibility of making an offensive alliance with the Apache against the other group, or vice versa, and the best means of effecting such an alliance and of conducting such a war.

DE MÉZIÈRES CALLED TO TEXAS, 1778; HIS REPORT ON the Apache campaign. The *junta* held at Monclova favored the second alternative, and it was recommended that an offensive union should be made with the Nations of the North, for the purpose of undertaking a war of extermination upon the Apache de Oriente – that is, upon the Lipan, the Natagés, and the Mescalero – who were represented as the perpetual scourge of the provinces of Coahuila, Texas, and Nuevo Santander. The details of effecting the alliance and of utilizing the allies were referred to the *junta* to be assembled at San Antonio. And now the skill of De Mézières received new recognition, for the chief recommendation of this body when it met was that he should again be called to Texas, still further to cultivate the friendship of the Nations of the North and to report a plan for employing them in the proposed campaign. Croix acted upon this recommendation, and within two months De Mézières had reached San Antonio and had prepared a plan for the desired war on the Apache.[140]

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[139] Croix to Bernardo de Gálvez, Sept. 10, 1778; Joseph de Gálvez to Croix, Jan. 20, 1778.

His report, which is mainly an elaboration of the plan of the *juntas*, bears the date of February 20, 1778. It begins with a classification of the Nations of the North, a description of each class, their interrelations, and the policy that should be pursued with respect to each. This is followed by a detailed discussion of a plan for the projected campaign. The essence of the plan was to assemble at the Taovayas villages one thousand Indian allies and unite them near the Colorado River with three hundred troops from Louisiana and the Interior Provinces. Here they were to be divided into two corps, one going by way of the old San Sabá settlement to the lower Pecos to drive the Lipan southward, the second going by way of El Cañon and the Presidio of the Rio Grande, or to Monclova, to attack the enemy as they fled. To stimulate the interest of the allies, prevent the torture of their captives, and, at the same time, to replenish the missions with neophytes, De Mézières recommended, as he had done in 1772, that a fixed price be arranged at which the missions might purchase all the captives taken. Besides the knowledge given of the Indians and of the proposed campaign, the document throws a great deal of light on Spanish Indian policy and the methods of frontier warfare of the day. Throughout the report De Mézières, with nice diplomacy, refers to the French traders of Louisiana as Spaniards.[141]

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[140] Reports of the *juntas* held at Monclova and Béxar. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 631) says that De Mézières was present at this *junta* at Croix's order, but the list of members of the junta does not include him, nor have I seen any other evidence that he was present. Indeed, the report seems to show clearly that he was not.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1778 TO THE UPPER BRAZOS AND the Red Rivers. While further consideration was being given to the plan for a campaign against the Apache – which was opposed by the king, and was not carried out in the form planned – De Mézières was sent by Ripperda on another mission to the Tonkawa and the Wichita tribes, an enterprise which took him clear to the upper Red River.[142] Setting out from San Antonio early in March, 1778, he arrived on the ninth at the new settlement of Bucareli, on the Trinity, at the crossing of the San Antonio Road, or *Camino Real.* Here he was joined by Captain Gil Ybarbo, with thirteen militiamen and Father Francisco de la Garza, all of Bucareli. Proceeding northward eighteen leagues, he entered a detached village of the Kichai, going thence fifteen leagues west to the Tonkawa settlement, which he found at a place called La Tortuga, or the Turtle.

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[141] De Mézières to the viceroy, Feb. 20, 1778.

[142] Reports of the expedition by De Mézières to Croix, *passim.*

From here he continued sixteen leagues farther westward to the first Tawakoni village, evidently the one near Waco, which he had visited six years before, and which he later called the village of El Quiscat. Eight leagues farther up the Brazos he found a larger village of the Tawakoni, which he now calls Chief Post [*Puesto Mayor*] of the Tuacana, and which he designated a year later as the village of El Flechazo. At this point Gil Ybarbo and Father Garza returned to Bucareli; but De Mézières continued northward, following the western edge of the Cross Timbers to the Red River, where he found the Taovayas living in two large villages on opposite sides of the stream.. The point seems to have been not far from the present town of Ringgold. To these villages De Mézières gave the names San Theodoro and San Bernardo, in honor of Theodoro de Croix, commandant-general of the Provincias Internas and Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Louisiana. After a few days' stay among the Taovayas, he returned to Bucareli, where he arrived on the second of May.

The sixteen letters or reports which De Mézières despatched to the commandant-general from different points of the route, collectively known as the "Dieziseis Cartas de Demezieres," constitute an invaluable source for the period, and illustrate De Mézières's great industry and his careful habits of observation. While at Bucareli he gave advice concerning the management of the Karankawan tribes of the coast, and wrote a long exhortation that the weak but potentially important settlement of Bucareli be encouraged, pleading especially that it be allowed free commerce with Louisiana by way of the Trinity River. During his stay among the Tonkawa and the Tawakoni he used his influence to induce or require the former tribe to give up its vagabond life and settle down in a permanent village, and, with the aid of Father Garza and Gil Ybarbo, he effected the return of a part of the apostate Xaraname to their mission at Espíritu Santo, from which they had been absent so many years.

From the Taovayas villages he wrote six letters in a single day, each dealing with a distinct matter. The most important news which he had to write from here concerned the English, for he learned that only the fall before Englishmen had made their appearance – the first, he said – at the villages, with the purpose of carrying on trade. In view of this long apprehended and now realized danger, of the wishes of the Indians, and of the advantages of the site as a base of communication with New Mexico, Illinois, and Louisiana, he recommended the establishment there of a settlement of Spaniards and Tlascaltecans.[148] Other important news concerned the Panis-mahas, or Ovaes. Shortly before his visit, apparently in 1772 or 1773, a part of this tribe had come south and settled temporarily with the Taovayas, but had since moved further up the Red River. From one of the chiefs of the Panis-mahas De Mézières now secured a promise to return down the river half way to the Cadodacho, and to form there a permanent village. It will be noted that on his way to the Taovayas De Mézières had decided on either the Brazos or the San Xavier as the proper place for such a settlement; that the plan of an interior cordon, which had been so prominent in 1772 had now dropped out of sight; and that in its place the occupation of the Taovayas country was recommended.

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[148] The Tlascaltecans occupy an interesting position in the history of the colonization of New Spain. After their first struggle with Cortés they assisted him in the capture of the City of Mexico, and thenceforth remained faithful allies of the Spaniards. Consequently they were made use of as a means of holding in check and civilizing successively conquered provinces. Thus we find them sent to form nuclei of the settlements of San Luis Potosí, Saltillo, Monterrey, and at San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. It was planned in 1757 to found a settlement composed partly of Tlascaltecans among the Arkokisa on the lower Trinity, and we here see De Mézières proposing to establish them on the Red River. In this respect the Tlascaltecans occupied a position similar to that of the Tarascans.

Some distance up the Red River above the Taovayas the Comanche were living at this time. Apparently not sure of his reception should he go to them in person, De Mézières sent them a threatening message, warning them to cease their depredations and to make reparation for those of the recent past. On his return to Bucareli he took with him the two brass cannon which Parrilla had left behind in 1759.

From Bucareli De Mézières returned to Louisiana, where he maintained his relations with the Nations of the North, and whence he continued to correspond with the commandant-general. One of his letters, dated at Natchitoches, November 15, 1778, consists of an interesting discussion of the war in the English colonies and of the relations of the English and the Americans with Louisiana. He tells of the attempts of the colonists to establish settlements and trade on the Mississippi, of the embargo placed on this commerce by the new governor, Bernardo de Gálvez, of the attack of "Wilum" [Willing] upon the English settlements, of the English immigration into Louisiana, and of Gálvez's great skill and wisdom in dealing with both of the opposing English parties and with his own subjects.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1779; DE MÉZIÈRES TRANSFERRED to Texas. The *juntas de guerra* held at Chihuahua in June approved De Mézières's plan for a campaign against the Apache, but concluded that before it could be undertaken more troops must be provided.[144] However, the services of De Mézières could not be dispensed with at the danger point. It was recommended, therefore, that, in the meantime, the governor of Louisiana should be requested to allow De Mézières to take up his residence permanently in Texas, for the especial purpose of going among the Nations of the North, to maintain and strengthen peace with those already friendly, and to try to secure the good will of the still hostile Comanche. It would seem that this permanent transfer of De Mézières signalized an attempt to transfer the center of control of the Nations of the North from Louisiana to Texas, according to the demand which had been made by Ripperda. It was enjoined, besides, that the project of a campaign should be kept secret, and that difficulty with the Lipan should be avoided until the time should arrive for striking the blow.

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[144] Report of the *junta* at Chihuahua. Ms. in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico. Copy in B. Mss.

For some reason or other this advice was not acted upon till September 10, by which time Croix had received the king's order of January 20, stating that the decision in regard to more troops must be deferred and that Gálvez must not be spared from his province at that critical time (the eve of Spain's entry into the American war). On the date named, accordingly, Croix wrote to Gálvez asking that De Mézières be spared, and to De Mézières ordering him to return at once to San Antonio to relieve Ripperda, by acting as governor *ad interim* till Cabello should arrive, and await a probable advancement of permanent character. Cabello arrived and took possession of the government of Texas in October, however, and De Mézières, instead of going direct to San Antonio, planned another expedition among the Nations of the North, preparing for which he was in New Orleans in March, 1779.[145]

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[145] Croix to De Mézières, Sept. 10, 1778; Croix to Bernardo de Gálvez, Sept. 10, 1778. Cabello arrived at San Antonio soon after these letters were

Among the more specific of the varied objects of this expedition, as stated, were these: to proclaim the good will of the commandant-general and of Cabello, the new governor of Texas; to distribute presents among the tribes; to prevent a threatened rupture between the Tonkawa and Tawakoni, as well as to prevent one between these tribes and the Comanche; to recover some apostate Xaraname who had fled again from their mission, or who perhaps had never returned to it; and to try again to induce the Tonkawa to settle in a permanent village.

1779

Because of the heavy spring freshets, De Mézières was unable to leave Natchitoches until May 24. Setting out on that day with twenty-seven militiamen and sixteen "passengers" – the number indicates the considerable extent of peaceful communication between the provinces in spite of the viceroy's orders of 1774 and 1775 – he passed through the deserted site of Los Adaes and the village of the Ais, then on the Sabine. Hurrying from here to answer an appeal for aid against the Indians made by Gil Ybarbo, who had just moved his village of Bucareli from the Trinity to the abandoned site of the Nacogdoches mission, he sustained at the Atoyaque River a severe fall from his horse, which occasioned a three months' delay and finally caused his death. Leaving his troops at the Atoyaque, he was carried on a stretcher back to his home in Natchitoches, and was not ready to continue his march from the Atoyaque, where he had left his men in camp, till the twenty-first of August.

His reports made on the way, after his march was

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written. On October 29 he was at the mission of San Joseph waiting to take possession of his office, "*Para verificar mi ingreso*," apparently having arrived that day. Letters of Cabello to the Cabildo, Oct. 29, 1778, and to Croix, Nov. 4, 1778, Béxar Archives, Province of Texas, 1777-1778.

error in note
See II, p. 264

resumed, are not inferior in interest or value to those of his previous expeditions. At Nacogdoches he commented on the remains of the old mission and the feeble settlement just planted there, and condemned the abandonment of Bucareli. Following the *Camino Real* from Nacogdoches, he went through the village of the "Texas" or Hainai, on the Angelina, noted in passing the remarkable Indian mounds east of the Neches River, and entered, on the other side, the village of San Pedro de los Nabedachos, then already historic as the site of the first mission in Texas, founded nearly ninety years before. Leaving the highway at Bucareli, he passed to the Kichai village on the Trinity, and from there followed the route of the year before to the Tawakoni village of El Quiscat on the Brazos.

Here he had a love-feast with El Mocho, the hated Apache who was now the head chief of the Tonkawa, and whose murder, at the hands of his rivals, De Mézières himself had only recently plotted, as he disingenuously tells us in his letter written on the spot. On the thirteenth of September there was held a ceremonious assembly of the Tonkawa and Tawakoni, in which De Mézières discussed the various questions at issue, and invited the two tribes to come to San Antonio, bringing their allies, to see the new governor.

After distributing liberal presents, De Mézières set out for San Antonio, accompanied by El Mocho and seventy-five Tonkawa and apostate Xaraname. On the way he wrote enthusiastic and highly interesting descriptions of the natural beauties and the advantages for settlement of the San Xavier [the San Gabriel], the Colorado, the San Marcos, and the Guadalupe Rivers, and of the country adjacent to them. Near the end of

September he arrived at San Antonio and reported to the governor for duty.[146]

LAST SERVICES, PROMOTION, AND DEATH. But De Mézières's long career of service was nearly over, though of this fact he apparently had as yet no premonition, and though he still had time to tell the Spaniards more about their own province and to instruct them in its management. In a letter of October 7 to Croix he outlined and recommended a plan for the destruction of the feared and hated Karankawa race, by means of a combined attack of land forces from Texas and of a fleet of barges from New Orleans. His advice was, in summary, that every man of the tribe who should resist should be put to death, and that the rest should be banished "to lands where they may lose the thought of returning to their perverse customs, and where they may serve God if they wish, and the state whether they will or not."[147]

Another letter of the same date, though not precisely his last, might well be considered his valedictory. It was at once a just valuation of New Spain's fairest province, a bold condemnation of its gross neglect, a prediction of its loss to the aggressive English unless reform should be made, and an appeal for reform through removing from the province the mill-stone of commercial restriction.[148] After the death of De Mézières, these proposals were heartily advocated by the local authorities and were long and seriously considered by the viceregal government, but, unfortunately for the prosperity of the province which they concerned, they were never put generally into effect.

When he had reached the Kichai village, De Mézières had received a letter from the king of Spain thanking him for his distinguished services among the tribes in 1778, and upon arrival at San Antonio he had learned that, upon the king's enquiry, he had been recommended by the governor of Louisiana for promotion to the rank of colonel. A few days later he was informed, much to his surprise, that he had been appointed governor of Texas in place of Cabello, about to be promoted to another berth. With extreme candor and winning modesty he pleaded, in a letter of October 13, his ignorance of any law but common sense, "which has no value among the cavilous," the difficulty of the position for him because of his previous relations with the Apache, his poverty, his feeble health since his accident at the Atoyaque in the preceding May, and his desire to return to Louisiana to serve her in her time of danger from the adventurous English. Nevertheless he promised, in case Croix should insist, to do his best, and asked that in that event arrangements should be made for moving his family from Natchitoches to San Antonio.[149]

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[146] Reports of the expedition by De Mézières to Croix, *passim*.

[147] De Mézières to Croix, Oct. 7, 1779, no. 14.

[148] De Mézières to Croix, Oct. 7, 1779, no. 13.

But he never entered upon his new office; for, a short time after writing this letter, November 2, 1779, he died, at San Antonio, from the effects of his accident. His last communication to Croix was a short note, written in his mother tongue – for he was too feeble now to write Spanish – tenderly commending his children to Croix's protection.

> They are in want, and I leave them only debts which my journeys of last year and this have compelled me to contract. I die confident of your Lordship's protection of my family. This is my consolation.[150]

De Mézières was buried the day after his death at the parish church of the Villa of San Fernando by the curate Pedro Fuentes y Fernández.[151]

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[149] De Mézières to Croix, Oct. 13, 1779.

[150] Undated letter of De Mézières to Croix.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

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[151] *Libro de Entierros de la Yglesia Parroquial de la Villa de San Fernando y Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar.* Partida no. 704. For the copy of this item I am indebted to Miss Adina de Zavala, of San Antonio, to whom I hereby make my acknowledgments.

SOURCES OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

All of the documents published in this work are from hitherto unpublished manuscripts, so far as the editor is informed. The larger portion of them are from original manuscripts preserved in the archives of Mexico and Spain. A number of pieces, however, are from the Bancroft Collection, at the University of California, while a few are from the British Museum, the Béxar Archives at the University of Texas, and the episcopal archives at San Antonio, Texas. Other manuscripts used in writing the Introduction and the editorial notes were obtained from the Archives du Ministère des Colonies, at Paris, and from the local records of Natchitoches, Louisiana. With the exception of the originals in the Bancroft Collection, transcripts of all the documents included here are either in the editor's personal collection or in the Bancroft Library.

The general nature of the principal collections from which the manuscripts have been drawn will be given here; the specific source of each document is indicated under its individual title. In many cases two or more manuscripts for a single document are known. In such cases the different versions are indicated, that from which the translation was made being given first.

The following are the principal groups of documents drawn upon, with their designations for reference purposes. These citations have been made as brief as possible.

Mexico. Archivo General y Público, Sección de Provincias Internas, vol. 100. Cited as *Prov. Int.*, vol. 100.

This volume is entitled Texas, *Correspondencia con su Governador, Baron de Riperda. 1770 á 1773*. The *expediente* from which the documents here published are drawn is entitled *Relazión que de ofizio hazé el then^{te} Gov^{or} de Natchitoches al Capp^{n} Gral de la Luisiana, sobre el viaxe que por Orn. de su SS^{a} hizó á Cadodachos p^{ra} trattar con las naciones enemig^{s} cuyos capitanes concurrieron en ese Pueblo*. These documents consist of an official transcript of the De Mézières report of the conference at Cadodachos, together with original *diligencias* executed at Los Adaes by Lieutenant José González with reference to the same matter, and other related papers.

—— Archivo General y Público, Sección de Provincias Internas, vol. 182. Cited as *Prov. Int.*, vol. 182.

Expediente number one of this volume, from which the documents here published are taken, is entitled *Expediente Sobre Comercio Reciproco entre las Prov^{as} de la Luisiana y Texas: havilitacion de un Puerto en la costa de esta: ampliacion de limites de la primera estendiendolos hasta el Rio de Sabinas y otros puntos incidentes*. It consists of original correspondence covering the period 1776-1790, and includes official copies of several of De Mézières's reports of his expeditions.

—— Archivo General y Público, Sección de Provincias Internas, vol. 20. Cited as *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20.

The documents used are from the group entitled *Expediente sobre proposiciones del Governador de Texas Baron de Ripperda para erección de un nuevo Presidio, y emprehender una cruda guerra contra los Apaches Lipanes, haciendo alianza con las Naciones del Norte*. Marked *N. 41 de los entregad^{s} al Cav^{ro} de Croix*. This would indicate that the *expediente* was sent to Chihuahua and subsequently returned to the archive of the Secretaria del Vireynato at Mexico. The documents are originals.

—— Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, vol. 51. Cited as *Historia*, vol. 51.

The title of the volume is *Texas, Varios Asuntos de esta Provincia, 1780 a 1807*. The documents here used or cited are in *expediente* no. 1, entitled *Expediente sobre propossiciones del Governador de Texas Baron de Ripperda, para erección de un Nuevo Presidio*, etc., being a copy (though not identical) of the *expediente* cited above in Provincias Internas, vol. 20. This copy is marked *Num. 24 de las copias del pe. [padre] Talamantes.*

—— Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, vol. 93. Cited as *Historia*, vol. 93.

The documents here used are from the group entitled *Expediente sobre la dolosa y fingida paz de las Naciones del Norte: y comercio*

ilicito de los Franceses de la Nueba Orleans. They are official copies, and the *expediente* bears the mark: *No. 21.3^o No. 44 de los entregad^s al Cav^{ro} de Croix.*

—— Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, vol. 28. Cited as *Historia*, vol. 28.

This volume, entitled *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de Texas, Libro Segundo*, is volume 28 of the *Memorias de Nueva España* compiled by Fray Francisco García Figueroa, at the order of the king, in 1792. The documents contained in the volume are as a rule not well made, but it contains several De Mézières documents which I have not been able to find elsewhere, and has consequently been drawn upon. It is clear that the copyist had access to the archive of the comandancia general at Chihuahua, whose whereabouts is now unknown.

Seville. Archivo General de Indias, Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba. Cited here as "Pap. Proc. de Cuba," with the addition of the *legajo* [bundle] and the number of the document.

These papers are a collection of 2375 *legajos*, or bundles, of documents which were sent from the archives of Havana to Spain in 1888. They are especially rich for the history of Louisiana after 1766, since they contain the official correspondence of the governors at New Orleans with the local authorities during the whole Spanish period. The groups which have been drawn upon especially for this work are given below. The *legajo* numbers given here are those on the papers themselves, as filed in the archive. The individual document numbers are those of the corresponding calendar slips made by Mr. Roscoe R. Hill in preparing, under the direction of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, his forthcoming guide to the collection. They are included in the citations as a matter of convenience for reference purposes: *Legajo* 188-1, nos. 1-84; *legajo* 188-2, nos. 85-105a; *legajo* 188-3, nos. 106-121; *legajo* 189-1, nos. 122-144; *legajo* 189-2, nos. 144a-144d; *legajo* 192, nos. 145-179; *legajo* 110, nos. 179a-336; *legajo* 187, nos. 337-357; *legajo* 566, nos. 392-395; *legajo* 112, nos. 399-444; *legajo* 81, nos. 445-529; *legajo* 174, various numbers; *legajo* 1232, nos. 4309-4326; *legajo* 2357, nos. 161-207; *legajo* 2358, nos. 259-264; *legajo* 2368, nos. 2034-2037. The bracketed numbers standing at the head of individual documents as printed here are the serial numbers of the originals, usually found on the margins and without brackets or parentheses.

Madrid. Archivo Histórico-Nacional. Estados Unidos, 1777-5. Legajo 3884(a)-legajo 2º. Here cited as "Estados Unidos."

These papers are described in Shepherd, *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, pp. 29-30. The group principally drawn upon is that entitled "*Sobre si es conveniente establecer comunicación y comercio entre las provincias de la Luisiana y Tejas.*" While it deals with the matter treated in the *expediente* in *Prov. Int.*, vol. 182, cited above, it is not an exact duplicate. In most cases where the documents are identical in the two collections, the one in the Mexican archives has been used, on account of better facilities for getting accurate copies there.

The documents drawn from the Bancroft Collection are all in the manuscript department, section "Louisiana," and are here cited as "Bancroft Collection, Louisiana." They have sometimes been cited as Pinart Mss. These documents are mainly original manuscripts once forming a part of the collection of "Papeles Procedentes de Cuba," described above; a few, however, are transcripts from that collection, made by Pinart.

From the British Museum there have been used "Additional Mss. 17567, ff. 1-21, Louisiana" and "Additional Ms. 17574, fo. 2," both of which are cited in full as given here.

One piece each has been drawn from the Béxar archives and the archives of the Diocese of San Antonio, Texas. The Béxar Archives, which consist of a part of the provincial records which accumulated during the Spanish régime at San Antonio, are at the State University in Austin. The archives of the diocese of San Antonio are at the house of the Bishop in that city.

All of the documents here translated are from the Spanish with the exception of the following, which are from the French: *Documents* 2, 3, 4 (enclosure in Spanish), 5, 6, 7, 15, 24, 13, 135, 136, 137, 197, 198, 199 (title only), 204, 205, 206, 207, 212, 218, 219, 221, 240, 241, 246, 247, 248, 249.

I. CONDITIONS ON THE FRONTIER, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SPANISH RULE, 1768-1770

1. ULLOA[152] TO O'CONOR,[153] 1768[154]

My dear Sir: With a letter from your Lordship dated March 15, I received the copy of the one by Don Melchor Afan de Rivera, of the presidio of Orcoquisa, and learned from it the news that the nations of Indians mentioned had taken arms, and were thought to have been incited by Don Manuel de Soto [Bermudes] and some Frenchmen. If this should prove to be true they would deserve very severe punishment; but in such cases

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[152] Antonio de Ulloa, first Spanish governor of Louisiana, was born in Sevilla, January 12, 1716. He came of a family distinguished in maritime affairs, and in 1733 entered the navy as midshipman. At the age of nineteen he became one of Spain's representatives on a joint scientific expedition undertaken by Spain and France for the purpose of measuring an arc of the meridian at the equator. In the investigations, which were made in Peru, Ulloa distinguished himself by his mathematical ability, and on his return to Spain in 1748 he published an account of the expedition, at royal expense.

After the accession of Charles III to the throne, Ulloa was made commodore, and given command of the fleet of the Indies. On the cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1762, he was appointed governor of that province, but did not reach there till March 5, 1766. His expulsion from Louisiana, by order of the French Superior Council of the province, occurred in October, 1768.

A member of the Royal Society of London, an associate member of the Academies of Berlin and Stockholm, a correspondent of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, Ulloa continued his activities in the realm of scholarship by publishing in 1772 a series of observations on the climate, soil, flora, fauna, and inhabitants of South America, under the title: *Noticias Americanas, entretenimientos physico-históricos sobre la América Meridional y la Septentrional Oriental*; in 1773 he wrote a work on the naval forces of Europe and Africa, and in 1778 published his observations on an eclipse of the sun which occurred that year.

Learned as he was in the theory of navigation, he was not always successful one must proceed with great circumspection and moderation, in view of the well-known deceitfulness of the Indians and of their facility in exculpating themselves from their rash deeds by laying the blame on others, as is experienced here every day.

Luis de Sandenis,[155] under date of December 31 last, reported to me that when he was with the Reverend Father Fray Ygnacio Lava [156] on his cattle ranch, the In-

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in its practical application. In 1780 he was courtmarshalled for failure to intercept an English fleet while cruising near the Azores in the preceding year and for his disregard of orders concerning a proposed attack on the Floridas. But he was acquitted, and continued to play a prominent part in the direction of Spanish naval affairs, being made commander-general of the maritime departments and minister of the junta general of commerce and of the mint. At the age of eighty he died on the Island of León, July 3, 1795. [Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903), vol. ii, 141-150.]

[153] Hugo O'Conor (he usually wrote his name with an accent on the last syllable) went to Texas as ad interim governor in the middle of 1767. Writing in 1772, Bonilla says of him: "But Oconor attained the glorious distinction of leaving an immortal name in the province. He attested his valor, disinterested conduct, and military policy, he preserved peace in the land, and he made himself an object of fear to the savages, who knew him by the name of El Capitan Colorado." He remained in the province till 1770, when he returned to Mexico [Bonilla, *op. cit.*]. In 1772 he was made *inspector comandante* of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, and thereafter played a leading part in the reorganization of the line of frontier presidios in accordance with the order of 1772. Later he was prominent in the Indian wars of the northwestern provinces of New Spain.

[154] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

[155] Luis de St. Denis, son of the noted Luis Juchereau de St. Denis, and Manuela Sánchez Navarro. He served in minor capacities at Natchitoches, and died there June 10, 1770, "so destitute of all kinds of property that he did not leave even enough to provide for his burial, which was generously attended to by his nephews, MM. de la Chaize and de Blanc" [De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, June 6, 1770, no. 4. Ms. Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 234]. Nos. 178 and 179 of legajo 192 of the collection just cited consist of papers relating to the sale in 1778-1779 of his father's estate, which had not yet been settled, although the father had died in 1744.

[156] In 1763 Fray Ygnacio Laba, a friar of the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, of Zacatecas, was at the mission of Los Adaes, and we learn from the church records of Natchitoches that on April 9 of that year he gave burial to Cesaire de Blanc, commander of the post of Natchitoches, in the absence of a curate. During the years 1768-1770, Fray Laba took a prominent part in the administration of the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Luz del Orcoquiza, near

dian Guakan, head chief of the Yatasï nation, came to it and told him that the Frenchman named Du Buche, having left Natchitoches to take merchandise to his nation and others near them, was arrested and driven back by your Lordship at the residence of Bermudes, which is on the route one has to take when going to them by land; and that, being resentful at this grievance, they assembled to take vengeance on the presidio which your Lordship was commanding, but instead yielded to his opinion, he quieting them and persuading them to desist from their plan, which they did. All this, he says, took place in the presence of the religious named.

These nations have been accustomed for a long time past to this sort of trade and commerce, and any attempt that may be made to cut it off suddenly will have very evil consequences both on those frontiers and in this territory, because, on the one hand, they will contrive a way to provide themselves by violence and incursions, which they regard lightly, and, on the other, they will not lack means to go to the English frontiers to get the things which are withheld from them here, which, experience shows, other nations no less distant than those have already done. In view of these considerations, the method followed here to keep them peaceful and friendly is to give them presents, so that they never once come to talk without getting something, and to assure them that trade will be kept up in the same way as it has been carried on in the past. This method has succeeded with the chief Guakan.

The arrest of a person is impracticable without proof of the misdemeanor, and this must be by formal in-

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the mouth of the Trinity. It would seem therefore, from the above document, that at the time referred to he was visiting San Denis. The Father Ygnacio mentioned in Volume II, 15 as being at Nacogdoches in 1772 was apparently Father Laba.

vestigation [*sumaria*], without risk of proceeding contrary to the rules of law. And in the case of Soto, which your Lordship proposes to me, it is necessary, since this person lives in a different jurisdiction, that the *sumaria* come with a requisition for his arrest.

2. O'REILLY [157] TO DE MEZIERES SEPTEMBER 23, 1769 [158]

New Orleans, Sept. 23, 1769.

You will be informed, Sir, by Monsieur Aubry,[159] heretofore your commander, that I took possession and command of this province in the name of his Catholic Majesty on the eighteenth of last month. In consequence he orders the commander of Natchitoches and his troops to evacuate the post, of which the captain of militia will take charge for his Catholic Majesty, and I am sending you the order which I addressed to him.

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[157] Alexander O'Reilly was born in Ireland about 1735, and while a young man he went to Spain to escape the disabilities imposed in his native land upon Catholics. After the war of the Austrian Succession, in which he served with distinction in Italy, he enlisted successively in the Austrian and the French armies, joining the latter in 1759. His meritorious service under the French flag won for him the post of lieutenant-colonel when he returned to Spain. After having taken part in the campaign in Portugal against the combined Portuguese and English forces, he was made brigadier-general and drilling adjutant, in which capacity he instructed the Spanish troops in German tactics.

With the rank of major-general he was sent to Havana in 1762, after that city had been restored to Spain by England. Having reëstablished the fortifications in Cuba, he returned to Spain, where he was made inspector-general of the king's troops, and by the part he played in saving the life of Charles III in the Madrid insurrection, he firmly established himself in the good graces of that monarch. The expulsion of Ulloa from Louisiana by the "Revolution of '68" led to the sending of O'Reilly to New Orleans in 1769, where he arrived on August 18. After establishing Spanish rule, O'Reilly returned to Spain, early in 1770, leaving Unzaga y Amezaga as governor.

The failure of the expedition which O'Reilly led against Algiers in 1774 lessened his prestige in Spain, but did not deprive him of the favor of the king, by whom he was later put at the head of a military school and made commander-general of Andalusia. Forced into retirement by the death of Charles III in 1788, he was recalled in 1794 to take charge of the Army of the East Pyrennees in the war with France. While on his way to assume command of the forces he died. [Gayarré, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, 285-289.]

[158] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 14.

[159] When D'Abadie, the last French governor of Louisiana, died, in 1765, Aubry, then senior captain of the military forces, took command, and acted in that capacity until the province was taken over by Spain. He acquired a bad reputation with the French colonists of Louisiana by refusing to take part in the uprising against Ulloa in 1768, and by assisting in the establishment of Spanish rule. [Phelps, *Louisiana*, 105, 106, 109, 111-115, 117-123; Gayarré, *op. cit., passim.*]

I know that you are better able than any one else to give me correct information regarding everything relating to your district; therefore you must come to this capital as soon as possible. I am writing to the captain of militia to coöperate with you in making the arrangements, persuaded that you will indicate to him the wisest measures for the tranquility of the post, which you will be able to guarantee against all insults.

I have the honor to be very sincerely, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant. O'REILLY [rubric]. M. Athanase Demezieres.

Accompanying is an ordinance concerning the certificates and papers relating to the expenses occasioned in the service of his Catholic Majesty, which you will have published and posted.

3. O'REILLY TO DE MEZIERES, JANUARY 22, 1770[160]

New Orleans, January 22, 1770.

I will pay, Sir, for the rations given to the Germans, Acadians,[161] and English who were shipwrecked at the Bay of Espíritu Santo from the time of their arrival at your post up to the end of last year. I hope that it will result in a benefit to the colony proportionate to the expense which the king incurs for them. I hope for the same from the Acadians who have remained at the post under your care.

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[160] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 1881-1, no. 6.

[161] The reference is to a little known or an altogether unknown episode in the history of the emigration of the Acadians to Louisiana. In 1769 a party of these refugees bound for Louisiana was wrecked off the coast of Texas and taken to the presidio of Bahía del Espiritu Santo, now Goliad. After harsh treatment had been given some of the leaders, the party was sent overland to Natchitoches. For further references to the subject, see *Documents* 25 and 36.

I am very truly, Sir, your very humble servant.

O'REILLY [rubric].

4. O'REILLY TO DE MEZIERES, JANUARY 22, 1770[162]

New Orleans, January 22, 1770.

You will receive, Sir, the entire amount of the presents which you regard necessary for the Indians of our environs. I have ordered M. Rancon to furnish them to you annually in your post in good condition. He will undoubtedly do this, for he is a very honest man, and will be paid promptly on delivery. I have even wished to render him responsible for the safety and the transportation of the goods, which is already arranged for.

I am very truly, Sir, your very humble servant.

O'REILLY [rubric].

List of the effects which should be given to the three Indian nations of the Post of Natchitoches, copied from the Instruction[163] *drawn by the Most Excellent Señor Conde de Orreilli, to-wit:*

TO THE NATION OF THE GRANDES CADOS, FOR THEIR ANNUAL PRESENT

A hat trimmed with galloons
An ornamented shirt
Two fusils
Two blankets of two and one-half points
Three ells of cloth
Two ordinary shirts
A copper kettle
Twenty pounds of powder
Forty pounds of balls
One pound of vermillion
Two pounds of glass beads
One pound of thread
One ax
Two adzes
Twenty-four large knives

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[162] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 10. Also *ibid.*, no. 29.

[163] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana. It seems probable that this document was sent with the above letter.

Forty small knives
Forty-eight awls
Forty-eight worm-screws
Two hundred flints
Twenty-four steels
Forty-eight hawksbells
Two hundred needles
Ninety ells of tape
Ten rolls of tobacco
Two jugs of brandy
Six mirrors
Two pounds of wire
One flag
Half a piece of cord
Twenty-five pounds of salt
Two hatchets
One ell of ribbon for the medal

To the Nachitos Nation

One hat with feathers
One laced shirt
One staple fusil
Four pounds of powder
Eight pounds of fine shot and balls
One pound of vermillion
One pound of glass beads
Half a pound of thread
Twelve large knives
Twelve small knives
Twelve awls
Twelve worm-screws
Fifty flints
Thirty ells of tape
Two jugs of brandy
Two mirrors
Fifty needles
Six steels
Twelve hawksbells
One pound of wire

To the Nation of Pequeños Cados

One hat with plumes
One laced shirt
One staple fusil
One copper kettle
Ten pounds of powder
Two blankets of two and one-half points
Two ells of cloth
Two staple shirts
Twenty pounds of fine shot and balls
One pound of vermillion
Two pounds of glass beads
One pound of thread
One ax
One adz
Twenty-four large knives
Twenty-four small knives
Twenty-four awls
Twenty worm-screws
One hundred flints
Twelve steels
Twenty-four hawksbells
One hundred needles
Sixty ells of tape
Five rolls of tobacco
Two jugs of brandy
Four mirrors
One and one-half pounds of wire
One flag
Half a piece of cord
Twenty-five pounds of salt
Two hatchets
One ell of ribbon for the medal

TO THE YATASSÈ NATION

One fusil
One blanket of two and one-half points
One ell of cloth
One shirt
One copper kettle
Six pounds of powder
Twelve pounds of fine shot and balls
One pound of vermillion
Half a pound of thread
One ax
One adz
Twelve large knives
Twelve small knives
Twelve awls
Twelve worm-screws
Fifty flints
Six steels
Twelve hawksbells
Fifty needles
Thirty ells of tape
Five rolls of tobacco
Two jugs of brandy
Two mirrors
One pound of wire
Two hatchets
Twenty pounds of salt

[Endorsement] I certify that this is a copy of the original JOSEPH DE ORUE [rubric].

5. O'REILLY TO DE MEZIERES, JANUARY 23, 1770[164]

The language which you used, Sir, with the Indian chief,[165] is quite in conformity with my intentions and with everything which I have said to you on the subject. These are the sole expressions which the service of the king and which the public welfare can dictate to each post commander. In this respect I am very well satisfied with the way in which you conduct yourself and with the means which you have taken to make known the mildness of the government and the clemency of the king, and I hope that as a result of your care you will experience the happiest results. It will be very agreeable to me if my arrival in this province may be made memorable by the realization of the advantages which ought to result from it to the service of the king and to the welfare of his subjects.

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[164] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 25. Also *ibid.*, no. 15.

[165] It does not appear to what chief reference is made here.

I approve the two traders whom you propose to establish in the village of the Cadauda-kiou and the third among the Yatassés, on condition that you answer for their zeal, intelligence, and good habits. This will be a very effective means of gaining the confidence of these nations, spreading among them the untarnished truth, and keeping informed of everything that happens; but these established traders ought not to prevent any other honest men who might desire to do so from going there to trade. It is on these conditions that I find the establishment of these traders very advantageous to the service.

I must express to you my satisfaction with your conduct; and I cannot doubt the advantages which will result from it to the service. This will be the true ground which you furnish me for congratulating myself on having chosen you, and for rendering you other services in the future.

M. Demezieres, Natchitoches.

6. O'REILLY TO DE MEZIERES, JANUARY 23, 1770[166]

M. DE MEZIERES, Natchitoches: You will prohibit Sir, very expressly, all persons whatsoever, from purchasing, trading for, or receiving horses or mules from the savages or those who trade with them, under penalty to the offenders of the loss of such horses and mules, which shall be confiscated. One half of the net products, after deducting the cost of justice, shall go to the public treasury, and the other half shall be divided between the informant and the judge who makes the seizure. Moreover, the offenders shall be kept in prison two months and afterwards sent to this capital. You will also prohibit any trader from furnishing arms, powder, or even merchandise, to white men who are shamelessly living among the red; and you will spare no effort to induce them to return to their duty, assuring those who present themselves of the protection of the government, on condition that they have committed no assassinations or other atrocious crimes. I hope that you will achieve this salutary end. I have sent the same order to the Arkancas, and trust that they will obey them; and if anyone fails to respect and fulfill exactly the purposes of the government, we will provide the remedy.[167]

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[166] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 26. Also *ibid.*, no. 19.

7. O'REILLY TO DE MEZIERES, JANUARY 23, 1770[168]

TO THE SAME GENTLEMAN: You did quite right, Sir, to sequestrate the four little Indians brought to that post by a trader who had purchased them among the hostile nations; first, because our laws prohibit having savage slaves, and second, because all commerce with nations hostile to us is prohibited.

You surely forgot to indicate to me the name of the trader in question. In such a case you should draw up a *procés verbal* and send it to the governor-general.

8. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[169] FEBRUARY 1, 1770[170]

[5] Nachitos, February 1, 1770.

SIR: Having found here four Englishmen, bachelors and Protestants, I set a time when they must either leave this district or arrange to receive instruction in our holy Catholic faith, in order that, being baptized and becoming members of this parish, they might in the future be shown the same favors as are enjoyed by the subjects of his Majesty, under his royal patronage. As a result of this warning two have left the place and gone to Manchac;[171] the others are still here, having made abjuration, to the great edification and tender rejoicing of all of us who live in this post, since, besides being men of very good habits, they are very dextrous and skillful in all kinds of mechanical work.

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[167] For the steps taken at this time by De Mézières, in conjunction with Father Stanislaus, curate of Natchitoches, toward rebuilding the church at Natchitoches, see *footnote* 351.

[168] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 33. Also *ibid.*, no. 16.

[169] After thirty-five years spent in the service of the king, Luiz de Unzaga, colonel of the Regiment of Havana, was in 1770 appointed governor of Louis-

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship the many happy years which I desire.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble and obsequious servant.

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Governor and Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.[172]

9. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
FEBRUARY 1, 1770[173]

[7] SIR: I have charged Juan Piseros, the bearer of these packages, with conducting an Indian named San Yago, formerly a slave of a citizen of Ylinuez, from

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iana by Alexander O'Reilly, to whom the pacification and reorganization of that province had been entrusted. The appointment was confirmed on August 17, 1772. The mild administration of Unzaga, and, it is said, the complacency with which he looked upon infractions of the commercial restrictions of Spain, endeared him to the people of Louisiana. In 1776 Unzaga, now brigadier general, asked to be permitted to retire with the pay of colonel, because of old age, bad health, and poor eyesight. The request was not granted, and he remained in Louisiana till relieved by Bernardo de Gálvez in 1777, when he was transferred to the captaincy-general of Caracas. [Gayarré, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, 44, 102-104.]

[170] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 187.

[171] Manchac was a post then in West Florida, near Baton Rouge. "Little Manchac" was a place below that point, where the city of Lafayette, La., is now situated, famous before the American Revolution for contraband trade by the English.

[172] For the reply see *Document* 17.

[173] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 191.

whom, after having remained with him a long time, he fled, angry at the servitude, to the Akensas. There he learned of the ease with which he could return to his country, which is that of the Taoüaiares,[174] bitter enemies of the Spaniards of the province of Texas or Nuebas Felipinas; but, reflecting while there upon the continuous attacks which these his compatriots were making against the presidios and subjects of his Majesty, and no less fearful of the punishment which they must receive and he with them if he should remain there, than moved by his love for Christians, he having been raised in our holy Catholic faith, the said San Yago was moved to come down to this post; and I, seeing the opportunity offered me for effecting the treaties by making use of this person, so well suited for the attainment of so desirable a benefit, am sending him to your Lordship's presence, humbly begging you to receive him and to order him treated with appropriate benignity, warning him of the vengeance which his nation must incur if they continue their robberies and attacks, and, on the other hand, of the good treatment which they will receive if they desist from their pride. And I beg that, after you have kept this Indian during the time which the canoe in which he goes remains in that city, he be returned at your Lordship's orders in the same canoe, properly instructed that the French and Spanish nations are but one; that the flag of his Majesty is the only one to be seen raised in all this province; and that therefore the Indians who injure the Spaniards of the kingdom of Mexico injure also all those of Luiziana. The said San Yago, taking all this into consideration, from having witnessed it, and being very grateful to your Lordship, will, I am confident, on his return to these parts go noising it about in such a way that he will be very useful in softening and terrorizing the hearts of those barbarous and indomitable heathen.

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[174] The Taovayas, or Tawéhash.

I have already had the honor to mention to your Lordship the fact that this San Yago has been a slave of a man of Ylinuez, who, I have heard, lives near that city. He may, on hearing of the arrival of San Yago, appeal to your Lordship in order to hold him in slavery again. But it appears to me that the latter has a better right to retain his freedom, because it was taken from him in gross violation of the law, and he only set about restoring it, now that the laws are in his favor.

May God preserve and prosper the important life of your Lordship many years. Nachitos, February 1, 1770.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble and obsequious servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Governor and Captain-general, Don Luiz de Unzaga.[175]

10. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
FEBRUARY 1, 1770[176]

[8] SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

Sir: I have exact information that some traders are about to return here with a great quantity of skins which they have purchased among the hostile nations, abusing for this purpose, as I believe, the passport to go among the enemies given them by my predecessor. And as I can do no less than institute proceedings against them, from which will result the total confiscation of whatever they may bring, I refer the matter to your Lordship, that you may command me what disposition shall be made of effects proceeding from such illicit commerce; for with respect to the persons, if it pleases your Lordship, after they have been punished with imprisonment, I shall cause them to dedicate themselves to agriculture and shall see that they are loyal, useful subjects of the king, in the same degree as in the past they have been insubordinate and pernicious.

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[175] For the reply see *Document* 18.

[176] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 193.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Nachitos, February 1, 1770.

Señor Captain-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble and obsequious servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

11. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[177]
FEBRUARY 1, 1770[178]

[9] SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

Sir: I have great reason to be proud that your Lordship deigned to consider me the instrument, weak though it be, which is to coöperate in this district in the high projects which your Lordship has conceived for the advancement of the service of both Majesties; and it being plain to me that the one to which you dedicate my zeal is the restoration of peace, so disturbed by the ferocious and numerous gentiles who surround us,[179] I have fixed my closest attention on the prompt attainment of this very desirable benefit. For this purpose I have sent couriers among the hostile bands, that they may understand that the invincible and most powerful French and Spanish nations are now united by such close ties that to injure one is to offend the other, and that so long as they continue in their former pride they will incur the vengeance of both, which will result in the most terrifying and unheard of punishments. And since this my advice goes forth supported by that of the friendly caciques (who are greatly interesting themselves in the reëstablishment of tranquillity), and since, also, these hostile bands are at present entirely without supplies, because of the great care which I have taken to make the merchants retire who, so greatly to the injury of the subjects of his Majesty, were wandering among them, I am confident that, on account of their repentance, their total lack of supplies, and their poverty, they very soon will become as peaceful and humble as they have appeared restless and haughty in the past. Therefore I beg your Lordship to favor me with your permission and passport, so that, as soon as I am assured of their good dispositions, I may take them to the presidio of San Antonio de Bexar, in order that they may ask there and obtain (for it has never been denied by the laws of our merciful monarch) the treaties on which rests the peace and the prosperity of the disturbed province of Nuebas Felipinas, for I assure your Lordship that these nations will be subdued better by your influence and mediation than by noise of arms and excessive expenses to the royal treasury. In evidence of this I might cite the very disgraceful campaign made in the year of 'fifty-nine by Col. Don Diego Orttiz Parrilla,[180] with such shame to our nation, that, saying nothing of the number of his men who were killed or captured, he left in possession of the barbarians part of the artillery, together with other munitions of war which he was taking to combat them. If your Lordship is pleased to grant me this permission, which I urgently beg, an infinite amount of blood and treasure, both of his Majesty and of private persons, will be saved, and your Lordship will forever have the love, veneration, and gratitude which all these heathen must render you, as to a benefactor, regarding you as the rainbow which has quieted the fatal tempests which were harassing them. And be assured, your Lordship, that in any emergency to the royal service which may arise, these heathen will come with the most efficient and prompt aid. Besides, the country which they occupy is one of the most important of the Indian districts, because of its beauty and because it contains, as I know, very rich metals.

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[177] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 195.

[178] For the reply see *Document* 19.

[179] Here we have De Mézières's own statement of what he regarded as his principal mission. See "Introduction," page 87.

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[180] See the "Introduction," page 49.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Nachitos, February 1, 1770.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

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12. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA FEBRUARY 1, 1770 [181]

[10] SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

Sir: I have reported to the two caciques of the most faithful nation[s] of the Caudachos and Yatassé the great favor which the Majesty of our Catholic monarch has deigned to grant them by selecting them for decoration with his medal, and, as a more exact proof of his royal protection, the honor which they are to receive in his august banner which I am to deliver them, together with other presents which in a material way show them the benevolence of so much and so deservedly loved [a sovereign], the renowned emperor of these Indies. I have also promised those caciques in the name of his Excellency and of your Lordship to practice with them constantly, as is proper among friends and due for their loyalty, the fairest treatment and dealings, and that they may never experience from the king any change, but on the contrary, they may reap, as in times past, the fruits of their own sweat and labor. To this end I have chosen Juan Piseros, citizen and merchant of this post, so that in virtue of his agreement, which is enclosed, he may purchase and bring the necessary goods and [illegible] supplies for these nations; and when they have arrived here they shall be divided among the persons who go to distribute them. These men, besides being of proved conduct, have plentiful substance, so that in case they depart from the straight path and violate the accompanying [stipulations] we may look to their goods and give them other besides personal punishment.

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[181] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 197.

God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Nachitos, February 1, 1770.

Señor Captain-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble and obsequious servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Governor and Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.[182]

13. CONTRACT OF JUAN PISEROS WITH DE MEZIERES, NATCHITOCHES, FEBRUARY 3, 1770[183]

List of Goods necessary for the annual Supply of the Village of the Grand Cadaux

No. 10 [Enclosure].

Forty staple fusils of good caliber
Sixty ells of Limbourg, red and blue
Thirty woolen blankets, twenty of two and one-half points and ten of three points
Four hundred pounds of French gun powder

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[182] For the reply see *Document* 20.

[183] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 198.

Nine hundred pounds of bullets, caliber thirty to thirty-two
Thirty pickaxes, Thirty hatchets, Thirty tomahawks } of good quality and well turned
Fifty shirts, half gingham and half white
One gross of hunters' knives with three nails
One gross of pocket knives with horn or dog's head handles
Six dozen large boxwood combs
Six dozen pairs of scissors
Sixty pounds of small glass beads, sky blue, white, and black
One thousand flints
Six dozen large steels
Six dozen awls
Six pounds of pure vermilion
Six dozen mirrors of pliant copper
Six pieces of scarlet *tavelle*[184]
Twelve pounds of copper wire suitable for bracelets and wormscrews

List of Goods necessary for the annual Supply of the Village of the Petit Cados

Thirty staple fusils of good caliber
Forty ells of red and blue Limbourg
Forty fine blankets, half three points and half two and one-half points
Two hundred pounds of French gun powder
Four hundred fifty pounds of balls, caliber thirty to thirty-two
Twenty pickaxes
Twenty hatchets
Twenty tomahawks
Thirty pounds of glass beads, sky blue, white, and black
Four pounds of pure vermillion
Half a gross of hunter's knives
Id. of pocket-knives with horn or dog's head handles.
Half a gross of boxwood combs
Four dozen steels
Four dozen wormscrews
Five hundred flints
Two dozen mirrors

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[184] I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of this word.

Six pounds of copper wire, coarse and fine
Twenty-four shirts

List of Goods necessary for the annual Supply of the Village of the Hiatassés

Fifteen staple fusils
Thirty ells of red and blue Limbourg
Twenty fine blankets, of two grades
Thirty shirts
Two hundred pounds of French gun powder
Four hundred fifty pounds of balls
Ten pickaxes
Ten hatchets
Ten tomahawks
Thirty pounds of small glass beads, sky blue, white, and black
Four pounds of vermillion
Half a gross of large hunter's knives
Half a gross of pocket knives
Id. of combs
Id. of awls
Id. of wormscrews
Id. of steels
Five hundred flints
Four pieces of *tavelle*
Three dozen mirrors
Six pounds of copper wire, coarse and fine

I the undersigned, resident and merchant in this post, certify that I have agreed with M. de Mezieres to purchase, bring up, and put at the disposition of the Sieurs Alesis Grappe, Dupin and Fazende Moriere, the merchandise mentioned above, of good quality, marketable, and well chosen, to serve and to be distributed by them to the nations of the Cados d'Acquioux and Hiatassés, our allies, in conformity with the intentions of his Excellency, which delivery I obligate myself to make to the above-named persons, payable in the stipulated term of a year from the following spring on condition of their paying fifty per cent profit on the purchase price in

New Orleans, according to the certified invoices which I shall exhibit. I agree to accept deer skins of good quality and marketable at thirty-five sous apiece; bear's fat at twenty-five sous a pot; buffalo hides, good and marketable, at ten livres, I reserving, in view of my advances and the length of the term of credit, the choice of goods which may please me best, until I am completely paid. Natchitoches, Feb. 3, 1770. (Signed) PISEROS.

[Endorsement] Copy compared with the original. Natchitoches, Feb. 3, 1770. DE MEZIERES [rubric]

14. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA FEBRUARY 1, 1770[185]

[11] SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

Sir: Your Lordship is already informed of the establishment of wheat culture in this district, but as that which I sowed in large quantities last year failed almost completely because of the bad season, which was extremely wet, I have no hope that the small amount which I expect to harvest this year will be sufficient to furnish the citizens with seed. Therefore, I beg your Lordship to order brought for me from Los Ylinuezes six fanegas[186] of this grain, for the cost and freighting of which to Punte Cupé I will be responsible, as well as for bringing it here from that place, as soon as you shall advise me.

Rye, as your Lordship knows, is the bread of the poor in all places; and there being so many of that class in this colony, I likewise beg your Lordship to order two fanegas of it brought me, in order that its culture may not be neglected.

Barley, if it succeeds, will also be very useful for the establishment of breweries; since in this country there is no lack of persons who understand the business, malt liquors will be sent from here to that city as well as to other places in the province, already manufactured. Therefore, with your favor, I hope for the same amount of barley as I have stated for the rye.

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[185] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 200.

[186] A measure of grain of about a hundred pounds; as much land as can be sown by a *fanega* of seed grain.

Of ale as good vinegar is made as of wine; and of barley, by adding to it the seed of colwert, is manufactured whiskey which is used in Flanders and Holland. Therefore, rye having been secured, the other may be expected. This will be a very great boon to Luiziana, for twice as much money will then remain in it as now for the benefit of its citizens; and by this means they can count on some conveniences for themselves and their children.

Of the 160,000 pesos which left Havana for New Orleans on the 18th of June, 1768, 70,000 went to the English, for the flour which they had brought for the consumption of the previous year, and the rest was for the merchants of Santo Domingo, part for wine, rum, and other comestibles which had been brought from there. Therefore, having wanted this capital for a very long time, [after getting it] the citizens remained as poor as before. This would not have happened if Nachitoches had been in a condition to provide flour, malt liquors, vinegar, and whiskey, as it might do within four or five years, in which case at least 100,000 of the 160,000 pesos which came at the time stated above would remain distributed among the planters and workers. This would be repeated every year, and the colony, being rich, would not need other funds than its own, except those which very naturally would be added to it.

God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Nachitos, February 1, 1770.

Señor Captain-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most obsequious and humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Governor and Captain-general, Don Luiz de Unzaga.[187]

15. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE TRADERS OF THE CADAUX D'ACQUIOUX AND HIATASSES NATIONS, FEBRUARY 4, 1770[188]

His Excellency the Captain-general of this province, having by his orders of the 24th of November, 1769, enjoined me to choose persons known for their good habits and their zeal for the service of the king, that they might be sent to the Indian villages to encourage the savages more and more to work, and not to permit them to remain in an idleness dangerous not only to their own interests but to those of his Majesty as well, I have chosen the Sieurs Alexis Grappe, Dupin, and Fazende Moriere, to reside in the villages of our good friends and faithful allies, the Hiatasses and the Cadaux da Kioux, where they shall strictly observe the following instructions:

1st. The merchandise customary in the trade with the savages shall be furnished them to their satisfaction, they paying the ordinary trade price.

2d. No English merchandise shall be introduced among the Indians, under the penalty inflicted upon contraband traders, nor any kind of intoxicating drink, under pain of arrest and confiscation of goods.

3d. These goods shall be sold and distributed only to those Nations which are friendly to ours; thus the Naytanes,[189] Taoüaiaches, Touacanas, Yscanes, Quitseys, and Tancaoüeys, who are all enemies, shall have no part in it, either directly or indirectly, until new orders are issued, under the penalties inflicted upon traitors to the king and the country.

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[187] For the reply see *Document* 21.

[188] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 205.

[189] A branch of the Comanche.

4th. The said traders shall arrest all French or Spanish wanderers or vagabonds and confiscate their effects, demanding, if necessary, the forcible aid of the Indians. I will forewarn the chiefs in this particular in order that these rovers may be brought to this post.

5th. They are enjoined to watch very carefully that no Englishman shall introduce himself into the villages within the district of this post to trade with the Indians or for any other purpose whatsoever. In case one does, they shall do their best to have his goods pillaged and him arrested, and even killed if he gives any resistance.

6th. The said traders are pledged to send me couriers whenever they learn any news of interest to the service of his Majesty.

7th. They are likewise pledged to maintain peace and entire harmony among the people allied with us; and if any quarrel should occur between the families or individuals of the villages where they reside, or even among the neighboring tribes, they are pledged to stifle it and to conciliate the parties.

8th. The said traders are expressly ordered to explain daily to the Indians the inestimable advantage which they enjoy of being under the happy dominion of his Majesty; that all the French are charmed to live under the laws of so august a monarch; that his protection is assured to all natives who comport themselves as becomes men; that this great king considers them as his dearest subjects; and that in return he very properly expects them to submit to his will, but with no other purpose than their own happiness.

9th. The said traders likewise shall make forcible [harangues],[189a] whenever occasion arises, to the Indians of hostile nations who may come near them, concerning the unpardonable offense of which they are guilty toward the grandest, the most just, and the best of all masters, telling them that if they do not desist from their pride and their violence they will see fall upon them the weight of a vengeance which they will not be able to escape; that the French, united to-day with the Spaniards by indissoluble bonds, far from giving them any assistance, will treat them as their cruel enemies; but that if, on the contrary, they give true signs of repentance by promptly making an enduring peace, they will be received and added to the number of the children and subjects of this worthy sovereign.

10. As the service of God and the good of the religion ought to be kept in mind by all Christians, it is recommended to these traders that they take care that no adult or infant Indian in danger of death shall be without the blessing of holy baptism. They ought to feel the importance of this article; the recompense of a work so meritorious is to them well known.

At the government headquarters, February 4, 1770.

Copy. De Mezieres [rubric].

16. O'REILLY TO DE MEZIERES, FEBRUARY 19, 1770[190]

All your correspondence with my successor should be in Castilian, since you know this language well and since it will facilitate the regular despatch of business in this government.

I have received three letters from you dated the 11th of the present month, and concerning their contents I have only to repeat to you what I have said in my earlier letters which accompany this, confident of your care in observing the orders which I have sent you, and all the chapters of the instruction which I gave you here, in the best way to achieve all the purposes of the service.

[189a] The manuscript is illegible at this place, but the meaning is evidently that suggested in brackets.

[190] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 4.

With respect to the establishment in this province and under the shelter of some of our towns, which is desired by some families of Indians[191] anciently established in La Bahía del Espiritu Santo and who later joined the Tancouey and Tovacana tribes, our enemies, [I have to say that] I cannot decide so serious a matter without having a trustworthy report of the number comprised in these families, and some greater assurance than that which you give me of their fidelity and good conduct.

God preserve you many years. New Orleans, February 19, 1770. ALEJANDRO O'REILLY [rubric].
Señor Don Atanasio des Mesieres.

17. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[192] TO DE MEZIERES
MARCH 15, 1770[193]

In all our realms of America it is forbidden by law to admit any foreigner, not even the French, who are Christians, being exempt from this law, much less persons recently converted for their own private ends; and even though it should really be for the sake of the faith, our duty will be sufficiently fulfilled if we justly and as Christians give temporal aid, omitting the spiritual. By doing this we shall do no injury to the faith, for works of supererogation are reserved for monastics.

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[191] The Xaraname, or Aranama.

[192] Reply to *Document* 8.

[193] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 259. Also *ibid.*, no. 188.

May God preserve you many years, New Orleans, March 15, 1770.
Señor Don Athanasio de Mezieres.

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18. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[194] TO DE MEZIERES MARCH 15, 1770[195]

[7] The Indian San Yago is being returned in the canoe which brought him, well instructed in regard to our mild treatment and just dealings; but no occasion arose for considering his liberty, since no person claimed him, notwithstanding the facts that according to the customs of the French slavery was tolerated and that this point has not been decided by our sovereign. Nevertheless, he may enjoy his liberty freely, because of the advantage which will result from his reports to the other nations.

God preserve you many years. New Orleans, March 15, 1770.
Señor Don Athanazio de Mezieres.

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19. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[196] TO DE MEZIERES MARCH 15, 1770[197]

Whenever, through your good conduct, you succeed by gentle and pacific means in uniting those barbarian nations with our mild government, known the world over for its humanity, I shall give my hearty approval; and I promise you all the aid falling to my part, and to contribute as far as possible by my instructions toward securing so salutary an end, persuaded that not the least efficient measure will be the persecution of the traders who, with cavilous and untruthful conversation, disturb and undo the nice workings of our wise plans relative to the best service of God, the king, and the public welfare.

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[194] Reply to *Document* 9.

[195] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 192.

[196] Reply to *Document* 11.

[197] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 196.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, March 15, 1770. LUIS DE UNZAGA.

Señor Don Athanasio de Mezieres.

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20. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[198] TO DE MEZIERES MARCH 15, 1770[199]

I was greatly pleased with the advice which you gave to the caciques of the Caudachos and Yatasés to the end that they should accept the medal and the flag in the name of and as a special demonstration of the clemency of our sovereign, who, by such merciful means inclines to favor his vassals, and all those who sincerely ask for his royal aid and patronage. Having learned that this is true by these acts and by the presents which they will annually receive, as well as by the commerce which will be faithfully furnished them by those citizens, under your direction, their confidence will be established. For the last mentioned purpose the man named Pisero is returning to that place with the goods which he has been able to obtain here. But this trade ought to be understood as open to all the subjects of his Majesty who may wish to take part in it, under the rules of equity and so as not to contravene the good intentions, from which should result commensurate good to said vassals and benefit to the Indians, who, enjoying good faith and experiencing no tyranny from change of prices, will more firmly recognize our mild government every day. In this way will be destroyed the excessive ambition and the tyranny which has been practiced with such infraction of the rights of peoples and humanity, so recommended by all the nations, restricting trade to only one [hand][199a] and to the interest of one sole person, there resulting from this monopoly odium for the nation and contempt for its laws.

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[198] Reply to *Document* 12.

[199] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 199. Also *ibid.*, no. 264, where it is numbered 10 and dated March 16.

These ideas, you will see, are in harmony with the instructions of the most excellent Señor Don Alejandro O'Reilly, which, no doubt, you will follow, since they are in harmony with the good conduct which you have always manifested. Knowing this, I might refrain from repeating it, yet I am obliged to do so in order to fulfill my duty and my office.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, March 15, 1770.
Señor Don Athanasio de Mezieres.

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21. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[200] TO DE MEZIERES
MARCH 16, 1770[201]

In reply to your letter number 11, let me say that as the expedition to Los Ylinoeses[202] has already set out, the request which you make cannot be granted at present, but that when opportunity arises I will order what you request, for from it will result a general benefit to that town, and especially to the poor.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, March 16, 1770. LUIS DE UNZAGA [rubric]
Señor Don Athanasio de Mezieres.

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22. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES
MARCH 16, 1770[203]

The report which you were pleased to send me of the love, joy, and fidelity with which those citizens have accepted the taking possession of that territory in the name of our Catholic sovereign, has been all the more pleasing to me because it is the result of your good conduct; and you may be sure that demonstrations so faithful as these will move me not only to aid your person, but also to make it known to and to secure protection for it from the merciful king.

[199a] The original is illegible at this point; but from *Document* 47 it seems clear that the word was "hand."

[200] Reply to *Document* 14.

[201] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 265.

[202] Illiinos, *i.e.*, the district of St. Louis.

[203] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 267.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, March 16, 1770.

23. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA MARCH 22, 1770[204]

[No.1] Natchitoches, March 22, 1770.

SENOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: In the time of the Most Excellent Señor Don Alejandro O'Reilly I sent him a report of the Acadian families who were shipwrecked on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, opposite the presidio of La Bahya del Espíritu Santo, and brought here at the order of the governor of the province of Los Texas, or Nuebas Felipinas. His Excellency thought best that these families should remain and settle in this post, in order within a month to begin the establishment of the culture of wheat, hemp, rye, and other important crops in which, it is well-known, these Acadians are the most skillful, since they were brought up to raising them, and for which this country has been considered very well adapted. With this plan in view I ordered assigned to these Acadian families very rich lands. They were highly pleased with them, and were equally grateful for the generosity of the people of this vicinity, who offered them axes, adzes, salt, lard, maize, beans, hogs, cows, and goats, the latter to be kept by them three years to supply them with milk, they to retain a half of the increase, and either to return or pay for the other half when they should be able to do so. *Of this* your Lordship will be better informed through the accompanying certificate. But these Acadians changed their minds a few days ago, and have asked me for a passport to withdraw and go to establish their homes on the banks of the Rio de San Luiz, already settled by their countrymen and relatives, from whom they expect, they say, the same and even greater aid than that promised them here. But I have denied this petition, since I have a strict order that no person shall be permitted to come and settle here without a license known by me to be from the captain-general, or to leave, once having come, except in the same way. Accordingly I have thought it necessary to refer the matter to your Lordship, that you may deign to order me what may be your superior pleasure; nor must I neglect to report to you how sorry I am that meanwhile these Acadians are wasting their time, for they do nothing, the youths occupying themselves in wandering about and the men and women in asking alms, which at first did not fail them, for the inhabitants of this place gave them both food and clothing, not in proportion to their poverty, but with the greatest [generosity], as far as they were able. And I am certain that as gifts have ceased, because of their indolence and laziness, their desire to remain has been cooled and another has arisen, namely, to go roaming through the rest of the province, greatly to the disadvantage of the commonwealth and with visible contempt for the government.

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[204] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 208.

May God our Lord preserve and extend the important life of your Lordship the many years for which I incessantly plead.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble and faithful servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

24. AGREEMENT MADE WITH THE INDIAN NATIONS IN ASSEMBLY, APRIL 21, 1770[205]

We, Athanaze de Mezieres, Captain of Infantry, Lieutenant-governor of the Post of Natchitoches and its dependencies, and Don Joseph Gonzalles, commandant of Adailles, here at the request of M. De Mezieres, in the presence of M. Borme, militia captain, Poisot, lieutenant, and Dupin, sub-lieutenant, as well as the person named Alexis Grappe, interpreter of the savage nations for his Majesty, have caused to assemble in the audience chamber the chiefs of the Caddeaux Dakiou and Yataces, expressly come from their villages at our orders; and they have solemnly promised to show the same love and the same respect for his Catholic Majesty that they have had for the most Christian King; in consequence they have ceded him all proprietorship in the land which they inhabit, have promised him blind fidelity and obedience, and have received his royal emblem and his august medal with the very greatest veneration. They have engaged to aid with their good offices and their persuasion, in maintaining the general peace, and, in consequence, not to furnish any arms or munitions of war to the Naÿtanes, Taouayaches, Tuacanas, Quitseys, etc.; to employ themselves peaceably in their hunting, both for their entertainment and for their subsistence; and to arrest and conduct to this post all *coureurs de bois* and persons without occupation whom they may meet in the future, protesting that they will never forget their promise, which is just and very conformable to the harangue which has been brought to them by us, in the name of the captain-general of this province. In testimony of this they have received the present of his Majesty and will receive it annually with the same pleasure and the same respect.

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[205] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 2208.

Natchitoches, April 21, 1770.

ATHAN^IO DE MEZIERES PISEROS
P. DUPIN BORME
ROUJOT ALEXIS GRAPPE
JOSEPH GONZALES [?] NOTARY

I further certify that the said chiefs of the Cadaudakious and Yatassés have very solemnly promised me to have arrested and brought to this post all the *coureurs de bois*, French, Spanish, or blacks, of whom they have knowledge, wandering in the Indian villages; and I, to reward them for their efforts and for so good a service, have promised to give in exchange for each person of that class, a staple fusil and two ells of broadcloth. And as I am not authorized to incur any expense in this particular, I will provide it from my pocket, having no other expectation [206] than to extirpate an abuse so contrary to the good of the service of his Majesty.

Dated as above, ATHAN^IO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

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25. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
APRIL 30, 1770 [207]

[1ST] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: I am sending to your Lordship a copy of the letter which, under date of the 28th inst., was written me by Don José Gonzalez, commander of Los Adaes, and also the bill of goods which he requested and which have been furnished him.

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[206] There appears to be a corruption in the manuscript at this point, but the meaning is clearly that given in the translation.

[207] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 43.

The shortage of the maize crop last year in Los Adaes was so great that the harvest was less than what had been planted, so that all the people of this district were out by the month of September. Besides these there have been added the families of Acadians who were shipwrecked in the Bay of Espírutu Santo and the traders and vagabonds who were wandering about scattered among the heathen. These are the reasons why we not only cannot aid the outsiders, but also why the people of this place themselves will soon be exposed to the greatest need. For this reason Don José Gonzalez has requested of your Lordship, by the letter which I enclosed in my package, permission to secure supplies from Punté Cupé or Opeluzaz. If there is any delay there is no doubt that all these people, both the citizens and the presidials, will perish of hunger, which is already so great that, having no other sustenance than purslane and other wild plants, they cannot avoid a very fatal epidemic.

I cannot refrain from informing your Lordship that I have never seen or heard of poverty equal to that which the people of that royal presidio are now suffering, with nothing to drink or to eat, without money, and so completely without credit as to be most disastrous (since there is owing here about 30,000 pesos by the governors and captains, no payment, so long due, having been made for five years past), for if I had not made myself responsible for the value of the supplies which have been secured, they would not have obtained a grain of maize, so great is the public distrust. Finally, since the granaries of these citizens are exhausted, and since all recourse to the interior provinces is cut off by the excessive floods of the rivers, these unfortunates have no other recourse than the aid and protection of your Lordship.

May God prosper the important life of your Lordship *many* years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, April 30, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, your hand is kissed by your most humble servant. ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric]. Señor Captain-general Don Luis de Unzaga.

26. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[208]
MAY 15, 1770[209]

[2D – REGISTERED] — VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: It must be about sixteen years ago, a little more or less, that a person named Brindamùr, whose sole employment was to roam the forests and entertain himself in hunting – an occupation very conducive to laziness and to all the other vices as well – carried off a woman, although with her consent, and married though she was to an honorable person of Puntté Çupé named Albertto. The latter soon died of grief caused him by the unexpected rashness of his wife, thus leaving both of them free. Happy at the news, they came down from the river of the Akensas, famous asylum of evil-doers whither they had fled, to the fort of the same name, and there, as a reward for their unchaste amours, they were united in the most unhappy bonds of matrimony. They then returned at once to their haunts, because the groom, who was of gigantic frame and extraordinary strength, had made himself a petty king over those vagabonds and highwaymen, who, with contempt for law and subordination, with equal insult to Christians, and to the shame of the very heathen, up to now have maintained themselves on that river.[210] But, a short time after this new journey inland, it happened that one of his subjects, not only angered at the ill treatment which Brindamùr gave him, but frightened as well at the threats which he made that he would kill him (which he would have done on three different occasions had not the rest prevented it), killed Brindamùr himself, thus being the instrument employed, though tardily, by divine justice for the punishment of the misdeeds chargeable to the said Brindamùr.

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[208] For the reply see *Document* 35.

[209] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

Having committed this murder, the perpetrator, called Francisco Morván, went to the interior along the river, constantly changing his location, as is the custom of the wicked, driven by their bad consciences, until, sad, attenuated, and on the verge of death, he was met by some Cadodachos Indians, who were moved to pity, carried him to their village, cured him of his ills, and restored him to health. He remained with his benefactors for the term of seven years, none of my predecessors attempting to bring him away, perhaps because of the advantage which he enjoyed in the protection of that most faithful and beloved nation. But when I gave the order that all traders and vagrants should assemble here, he did not fail to obey with the rest; and as soon as he appeared before me I ordered him arrested and two pairs of handcuffs put on him, and that he be brought before me the next day in order that I might bring suit against him.[211]

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[210] For further details regarding the character of the population of the Arkansas, see *Document* 30.

[211] The Interrogatory of Morvant was held on May 11, 1770. Morvant, *dit* Bernard, testified that he was a native of New Orleans, about thirty-five years of age, and an armorer by trade; that he had killed Brindamur ["Brinamur"] some ten years before; that since that time he had lived three years on the Rivière des Ark and seven at the Cadodacho village. At the time of the

In the interim came the Indian Tinhioüen, cacique of Cadodachos, who with great insistence begged me to deliver the said Francisco Morvan to him, saying that he had induced him to come, and that consequently Morvan would of course charge him with any harm that might come to him; and, although I explained to him the violation [212] of our laws, whose basis is the natural law (for if we are in duty bound not to do to others what we do not wish done to us, it follows that he who commits murder incurs the penalty of death, as is practiced even among the most irrational savages), he became very, very sad, protesting that he would not depart from my side whilst his petition remained ungranted; that, being so loyal a subject of his Majesty he hoped to obtain the favor which he asked; and that, to this end, he appealed to the merciful tribunal of your Lordship, giving a pledge that he would never again interpose in such matters, but that, on the contrary, he would order arrested and brought to this post each and every delinquent who in future might go to take advantage of his aid. Thereupon I assembled the principal persons of the place, and after the mature deliberation which a case of such gravity demands I decided, with the consent of all the rest, not to displease an Indian of such good parts and distinguished services. Accordingly, I suspended the cause of the culprit in question, putting him under the protection of the cacique, with the admonition that he should not permit him to leave his

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killing there had been present Baudoin, Goguet, Laurent, and several others. Brindamur was described as a *chasseur*. When Morvant appeared at Natchitoches on the eleventh, he brought three Indian slaves (two Cannecis, or Apache, and one of the Cass nation). He also brought a mestizo slave. [*Interrogatoire . . . au nommé François Morvan.* Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 39; also *Procés verbal*, *id.* no. 40, and *Declaration de un Traitteur*, *id.* no. 41.]

[212] *Lo*, referring to *detrimento*.

district until I should ascertain the superior pleasure of your Lordship in this particular.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Nachitoches, May 15, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, I kiss the hand of your Lordship. Your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES, etc. [rubric].

Señor Captain-general, Don Luis de Unzaga.

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27. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[213]
MAY 15, 1770[214]

[3d] No answer.

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR – SIR. I have just learned that the Nabedakious, commonly called Indians of San Pedro,[215] of the jurisdiction of Los Adaës and until now friendly to us, met two traders called Blot and Manciere, who, abusing the passport given by my predecessor,[216] were trading indiscriminately and illegally with all the heathen nations, and because of their greed for what they had, killed them, as well as a Spaniard, who was in their employ; and, although I have little reason to be sorry for the misfortunes of disobedient and insubordinate persons; yet, with a view to increasing the respect of these natives, which makes it so important that they shall not shed Christian blood, no matter how vile and despicable may be the persons whose blood is shed (for if an Indian is permitted to commit one misdeed, he is encouraged to greater rashness, and from very trivial beginnings I have seen extremely serious consequences arise), I earnestly hope that the Indians of that village themselves may give me very prompt satisfaction, bringing me the heads of the perpetrators of these murders, which I shall demand and which I am sure will not be denied, because since the founding of this town the law of retaliation in such circumstances has been established here.

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[213] See *Document* 38.

[214] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 221.

[215] San Pedro was the name applied to the Nabedache village, near San Pedro Creek, in what is now northeastern Houston County, Texas. This village was the site of the first mission in Texas, San Francisco de los Texas, established in 1690. See "Introduction," page 34. The name has clung to the stream ever since the Spanish occupation.

[216] Baltazar de Villiers.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches. May 15, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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28. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MAY 20, 1770[217]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: I have to report to your Lordship that the Caranamez[218] Indians, who must comprise as many as twenty-five families, some years ago deserted the mission of Espíritu Santo, where, with great expense to the royal treasury, they had been gathered and instructed in our holy Catholic faith, and, forgetting the great benefits which they had received from the king, God preserve him, joined the heathen who so greatly have disturbed the province of Texas. They have taken no small part in the robberies and attacks, through furnishing knowledge of, and facilitating the entry of the rest of the barbarians into, the countries where they were raised. And as it is desirable that they should be kept in these territories, even though they do not return to civilized and Christian life, I have notified the hostile nations that one of the conditions most necessary in order that they may be received in peace consists in their bringing them here, where, in agreement with the Señor Governor of Los Adaes, I will attempt to send them to their former homes, assuring them that on condition of their making amends no charge whatever shall be made against them for the evils which have resulted from their apostasy.

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[217] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 223.

[218] The Xaraname, or Araname.

May God preserve and prosper the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

29. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA

MAY 20, 1770[219]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: Among the vagabonds whom I caused to come down from the villages of the heathen where they were scandalously living, I have found a mestizo slave[220] belonging to Señor D'Autherive, who for many years has been living with the Cadodachos, being one of those who to flatter the Indians affect to despise our nation. This person, named Lami, I am sending at this time to his owner, well secured by two pairs of handcuffs.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches. May 20, 1770.

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[219] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 226.

[220] Evidently the mestizo brought on May 11 by Morvant. *Declaration de un Traitteur*, Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 41.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES.

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga y Amezaga.

30. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MAY 20, 1770[221]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: On the Akansa River there live, under the name of hunters, some men of whose pernicious customs I must give your Lordship a brief account, confident that you will deign to repress the excessive abuses which flow each day from the unbridled proceedings of these people, more and more to the injury of the service of God and the king, and of the welfare and peace of the subjects.[222]

I will not go into details, since it is so vulgar a matter, in telling your Lordship that most of those who live there have either deserted from the troops and ships of the Most Christian King or have committed robberies, rape, or homicide, that river thus being the asylum of the most wicked persons, without doubt, in all the Indies. They live so forgetful of the laws that it is easy to find persons who have not returned to Christian lands for ten, twenty, or thirty years, and who pass their scandalous lives in public concubinage with the captive Indian women whom for this purpose they purchase among the heathen, loaning those of whom they tire to others of less power, that they may labor in their service, giving them no other wage than the promise of quieting their lascivious passions; in short they have no other rule than their own caprice, and the respect which they pay the boldest and most daring, who control them. Would that, limiting themselves, like brutes, to so infamous a mode of living, they might not continually go beyond to disturb the peace of these territories.

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[221] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 227.

[222] See *Document* 26.

To make clear what I have the honor to report to you, I ought to tell you that the Osages, living on the river of the same name, which empties into the Missuris, have from time immemorial been hostile to the Indians of this jurisdiction; but on account of the immeasurable distance which intervenes between their establishments and that of the Comanchez, Taouaiazes, Yscanis, Tuacanas, Tancaoüeys, and Quitseys, they formerly inflicted on these tribes only slight injuries or damages, their mutual enmity being more in evidence through talk than through actual hostilities; and the Osage being diverted in hunting to pay their creditors of Ylinuéz, to which district they belong, and their enemies being occupied in the same pursuit for the Frenchmen from here, neither party aspired so much to be at war as to enjoy the pleasures of their respective trade. But that river of the Akansa having become infested by the concourse of malefactors of which I have spoken, they soon came to know the Osages, and incited them with powder, balls, fusils, and other munitions (which are furnished them by the merchants who go annually with passports to visit them) to attack those of this district, for the purpose of stealing women, whom they would buy to satisfy their brutal appetites; Indian children, to aid them in their hunting; horses, on which to hunt wild cattle; and mules, on which to carry the fat and the flesh. Thus, all at once this district has become a pitiful theater of outrageous robberies and bloody encounters, and it has come to pass that in despair the Tuacanas, Yscanis, Tancaoüeys, and Quitseys have retreated toward the south until they are now in the neighborhood of the presidios of San Saba, Bexar, and Espíritu

Santo, where, in order to make good the constant loss of horses which they were experiencing, they have committed, what they had never imagined doing heretofore, like thieveries and outrages on the Spaniards. In this way the greed and license of a depraved and wholly abominable people are the cause of these great evils. In view of this I earnestly beg your Lordship to please order that this race, through despairing of all supplies, may be forced to abandon the river on which they reside, and also to intimate to the Osages, through the commander of Ylinuéz, that under penalty of your displeasure they shall frequent these parts no more. They will not refuse this, in the first place because of the respect which they have for that commander, and in the second because they will see how fruitless are their incursions if (the same as has been demonstrated here) they henceforth have no market for the captives and animals, both horses and mules, which they may take to sell.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^IO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga y Amezaga.

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31. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MAY 20, 1770[223]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: A man named Francisco Beaudouin,[224] one of the hunters and magnates of the Akansa River, having come here with his family, consisting of his wife, three children, and a captive Indian woman, for the purpose of supplying himself with powder and balls and then returning to his subjects, I have done with him what I shall be sure to do with all others who may appear before me here from the same place; that is, I have arrested him and am sending him to your Lordship.

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[223] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 228.

[224] François Beaudoin, or Baudouin, the Beaudoin present at the killing of Brindamur on the Arkansas ten years before this time. He was a native of

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches. May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

32. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MAY 20, 1770 [225]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: the person who will have the honor to deliver these pages to your Lordship is Don Claudio Mercier, surgeon and botanist, who came here by way of the Akensas River, where, with a license from Señor Aubry, he went to be cured of a very serious infirmity by the herbs which are known to him and which abound there. And as we are exposed to being the victims of the ignorance, avarice, and barbarity of every charlatan, I humbly beg that your Lordship may deign to permit said Don Claudio to return and settle in this post, where, during the short time in which he was here, he proved himself worthy of the public confidence by the assistance which he gave the poor.

May God preserve the important life of your Lord-

Canada, and at this time about fifty years old. [*Interrogatorio* of Morvant and Baudouin, May 11, 1770. Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 39.]

[225] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 229.

ship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

33. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MAY 20, 1770[226]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: My servants have just returned from the buffalo hunt, and as they made a great killing, they brought me a large quantity of meat and tongues. Of the latter I take the liberty to offer your Lordship a small number, begging that you will do me the favor to accept them as a small sample of the advantages afforded by this country to its inhabitants.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Nachitoches. May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

34. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES
MAY 31, 1770[227]

[NO. 7] SEÑOR DON ATHANACIO MECIERE. By your letter of the fifteenth of the present month you were pleased to request a decision in regard to the confiscated goods belonging to the persons named Brognars and Ridde,[228] traders among the hostile nations, concerning whose conduct you inform me at length in your letter of

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[226] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 230.

[227] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 276.

[228] See *Document* 42 for further references to Brognard and Ridde.

April 24, number 20. To both I reply by saying that as I am issuing several regulations regarding this matter, the case in question will be covered by the statement of the disposition to be made of confiscated goods. But since these goods, as you inform me, might deteriorate, or perish completely, you may send them to me at the first opportunity, in order that, they being sold here with profit, the proceeds may be deposited for said purpose. Hereby the question which you raised in the letter cited is settled and decided.

God preserve you as many years as possible. New Orleans, May 31, 1770. LUIS DE UNZAGA [rubric]. Señor Don Atthanacio Mecier[a]

35. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA [229] TO DE MEZIERES
JUNE 1, 1770 [230]

By your letter number 2 of May 15 ultimo I am informed that Francisco Morvan killed the notorious Brindamur, and, fleeing from his guilt, went to the forests of the interior till he met the Cadodachos Indians, who, seeing him in so unhappy a state and being moved to compassion, took him to their village, where, having completely recovered, he remained seven years with his benefactors until, obliged by your order that all traders and vagrants should appear in that post, the said Morvan did not fail to appear before you, when you arrested and imprisoned him, with the intention of conducting his trial.

But, the Indian Tinhioüen, cacique of the Cadodachos, having come to solicit the release of the prisoner in question, alleging that he had been the cause of his appearance, and offering to arrest in future all malefactors who might go to ask his aid, you convoked the principal persons of that place to deliberate upon the serious affair, and with one accord you decided to deliver the culprit in question to the Indian cacique, suspending his trial in consequence; and you conclude by asking my approval of so extraordinary a matter.

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[229] Reply to *Document 26.*

[230] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

To all this I must say that it is very strange that you should ask my sanction in a matter which you have definitely disposed of. This is not the kind of conduct required of lieutenant-governors of Nachitoches and Ylinoeses by the instruction which, in conformity with our laws, was drawn by order of the Most Excellent Señor Don Alejandro O'Reilly and sent to you as a guide for everything which might occur in that post and that of Ylinoeses, what is treated of at present, no doubt, being foreseen.

This instruction, besides containing other counsels, provides that in such cases as the present the lieutenant shall institute trials, and, when they are ready for the decision, send them to the governor of the province, that he may pronounce it according to its merits, the offenders meanwhile remaining in prison.

Referring particularly to this case of the said Morvan, you should not have delivered him to the Indian cacique mentioned, notwithstanding his promises, because by his very demand he belies them and because, appeal being made to this superior government, the decision should have proceeded from it.

On the other hand, if you had not delivered the culprit, but had conducted his trial, heard his demurrer, given hope to the Indian cacique, inserted his petition in the *autos*,[221] together with a statement of his fine qualities, good services, and the firmness of his friendship, and transmitted it in that state, as the instruction cited requires, sentence would have been pronounced and the culprit punished as an example to the rest, and to the entire satisfaction of the Indian cacique with respect to his petition. Or, the granting of this, in consideration of his good services, would have produced the happy result that, the culprit, being pardoned for such solid reasons and by so authoritative an act, would have left to posterity a secure monument of confidence not only in himself but in the caciques of the other nations, and they, following his example, would come to solicit our equitable, faithful, and upright treatment, with universal applause of the nation and of its government.

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[221] Judicial acts, or the records of the acts.

This glory, it appears, you have wished to have alone, and have held a council of the principal persons of that village. This, besides being contrary to our laws, appears in such a light that only your meritorious behaviour, good conduct, and honest intentions absolve you from criminality.

It gives me great pain to have to repeat my dispositions with respect to this and other matters, but I must do so in order to establish the procedure which should be followed in future, with a view to efficiency, better service of the king, and the welfare of the state.

May God our Lord, etc. New Orleans, June 1, 1770.
Señor Don Athanasio de Mezieres.

36. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JUNE 10; 1770[232]

[1] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: Pursuant to the superior despatch of your Lordship[233] I have given permission, as you order, to the families of Acadians to go down to establish themselves [on] the banks of the San Luiz River. Enclosed is a list of them, designating those who have already set out and those who still remain to finish some work which they have begun.

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[232] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 231.

[233] The reference is to a communication written in April (the exact date not known) in reply to one by De Mézières dated March 22. It stated that he

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Nachitos. June 10, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

37. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JUNE 10, 1770 [224]

[2] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: In response to your Lordship's letters of April 9 and May 3, past, I have the honor to reply that whenever there is sufficient grain here so that its exportation shall not be injurious to these inhabitants, I will supply both the presidios of San Agustin de Ahumada [225] and Los Adaes with it, fulfilling to the letter your Lordship's orders, both with respect to payment in advance and to the tariff of prices, which I have ordered published.

May God preserve the important life of your Lord-

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had talked with the representatives of the Acadians and that they insisted on going to the Mississippi River to settle with their countrymen, notwithstanding the fact that he had told them that he would not aid them. In view of these considerations, and of the fact that O'Reilly's permit to settle at Natchitoches "had for its object the greatest relief of these families," he decided to grant their request, and ordered De Mézières to provide them with the necessary passport. [Unzaga y Amezaga to De Mézières, Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 268].

[224] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 232.

[225] San Agustin de Ahumada was the Spanish presidio on the lower Trinity.

ship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Nachitos, June [10], 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

38. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[236]
JUNE 10, 1770[237]

[3] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: A band of Indians of San Pedro, of the jurisdiction of Texas, have just come to visit me and have promised to bring me at once the head of the Indian who killed the persons named Blot and Manziere, and I will nail it to one of the stakes of this fort as an example to the rest of the nations.

The cacique of these Indians, whom they call Captain Bigotes, has always been very much attached to the Spaniards. For this reason there were reserved for him, in agreement with Messieurs Edouardo Nugent and Don Juan Kelly, one of the medals of his Majesty and a flag, and they have just now been delivered to him, together with a present, which I very gladly gave him and at which he was so pleased that, after having broken out in emphatic protestations of gratitude, he told me that he would go at once to visit the enemy to persuade them to sue for peace; and he has pledged his word that if they do not desist from their evil plans he will threaten them with war. From this I am more and more confident of the result for which your Lordship hopes.

May God guard the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Nachitos. June 10, 1770.

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[236] See *Document* 27.

[237] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 233.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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39. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JUNE 10, 1770[238]

[5] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: Pursuant to the commands of his Excellency dated the 22d of last January, I ordered sequestrated fifteen horses and mares which a person named Francisco Barré[239] had bought illegally among the Nadacogs and Naugdozes Indians, of the district of the province of Texas. His declaration, together with an order for the said sequestration and for the sale at retail of the said horses and mares, which was made today for the royal fisc, appears in instrument number 5.

Moreover, I ought to have arrested the person of said Francisco Barré in order, after two months of imprisonment here, to send him to that capital, as I am required to do in such cases; but, my predecessor, M. de Villiers, having furnished him with a passport without limit as to place or time, the original of which I am sending, it has seemed to me that this poor fellow was in no wise to blame, and I have contented myself with ordering him to go with his mother and family to Punté Cupé, where he lived before he began to wander among the Indians.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches. June 10, 1770.

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[238] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 235.

[239] François Barré declared that he was a native of New Orleans, and a resident of Pointe Coupée, and that he had been living two years among the Nadacogs and Nacogdoches under a passport from Villiers [Pap. Proc. leg. 110, 235a].

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

40. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JUNE 10, 1770 [240]

[No. 7] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: Since commerce is the principal sinew of commonwealths, I well understand that the primary object of the one which I govern consists in favoring persons of substance and honor who employ their wealth in trade. And since M. Voix has these qualities, I shall gladly listen to and protect his cashier, M. Jouannis,[241] in so far as I am able.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Royal Fort of San Juan de Natchitoches, June 10, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, your most humble servant kisses your Lordship's hand.

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

41. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JUNE 16, 1770 [242]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: Of the two Englishmen whom I have sent to your Lordship's presence and [notice of whose] return to this villa you deigned to give me under date of May 15, last, only Guillermo Ovarden [William Warden] has arrived; concerning him and Señor Manuel Monsantto [243] I am punctually fulfilling my orders from your Lordship.

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[240] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 237.

[241] Also spelled Joanis, Joanisse, etc.

[242] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 48.

[243] Monsanto was a merchant who figured prominently in the correspondence of the period.

There also came the master-cooper Bernardo Auxet, and in consequence of what your excellency [ordered] me verbally regarding men married in Europe, I told him to go and live with his wife: but since she has died, and there is no other reason for expelling the said Auzet, thanks are due for the license which your Lordship deigned to grant him to return, for the trade which he follows is very useful to all.

May God guard your Lordship's important life many years. Royal Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches. June 16, 1770.

The hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant. ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

42. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[244] JUNE 27, 1770[245]

[4th] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: In virtue of what his Excellency[246] ordered me in his letter dated January 22,

> You will do everything in your power to the end that the white men who are shamelessly established among the Indians shall return to their duty, assuring of the protection of the government those who shall present themselves, except such as may have committed vicious murders or other heinous offenses, etc., etc.

I sent to the persons named Ridde and Brognard a safe conduct, of which they have taken advantage to return to this jurisdiction.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years, Natchitoches, June 27, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES.

Señor Captain-general.

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[244] See *Document* 34.

[245] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 52.

[246] The reference is to O'Reilly. See *Document* 6.

43. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JUNE 27, 1770[247]

[6th] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: Luiz Mesner[248] having asked for a permit to go to the presidio of Los Adays to recover the horses and mules which he had in that neighborhood, proceeded so irregularly that, after having collected thirty-nine animals, he ordered them taken to Opeluzà, without notifying me, taking advantage for this purpose of the passport which he sought and secured from Don Joseph Gonzalez, commandant of that presidio. For this insubordination (to which he is very much inclined, for less than six months ago he sent to the place named a drove of young bulls in the same way and without permission) I have fined him ten pesos.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Nachitoches, June 27, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general.

44. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES
JULY 28, 1770[249]

The Atacapas Indians have complained to me that a Spaniard named Sanator,[250] a citizen and an inhabitant of that post, has robbed one of them, named Nementaa, of a horse, for which reason you will cause him to appear before you; and if the theft is proved, you will

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[247] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 54.

[248] On the same day De Mézières wrote to Unzaga y Amezaga of a debt which *Mesnar* owed and which could not be collected. [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 55.]

[249] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 55. Also *ibid.*, leg. 110, no. 278.

[250] On October 23, De Mézières replied that there was no such person as Sanator in his district, but that the reference might be to "a certain Salvador de la Cerda" [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 248].

have the horse restored, sending it at the expense of the Spaniard in question to the Atacapas in care of M. Courtebleau, that he may deliver it to the Indian, as I am ordering him in a communication of this date. New Orleans, July 28, 1770.
Señor Don Atanasio de Mesiere.

45. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
AUGUST 21, 1770[251]

[1] Natchitoches, August 27, 1770.

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: Three Indians from El Arkansas having appeared in the neighborhood of this post without coming to it, they wounded a horse with a musket shot and stole others belonging to various persons of this post, who are disturbed by it, as is fitting so strange and extraordinary a deed.

As soon as I was notified,[252] I ordered that men should mount on horseback, and to the number of fifteen they very willingly set out to pursue these Indians. But as the latter had six days the start, they were unable to overtake them, and all that has been accomplished is to make certain, from the direction which they took, that they are of the said Akansá tribe.

Nothing being so important as to repress such boldness at the outset, I sent a messenger to the Akansa fort, which is distant from this one a hundred and some leagues, with letters for its commander, begging him to call a gathering of the Indians of his jurisdiction, ascertain the evildoers, give them, in the presence of all, the reprimand which their boldness merits, require them to pay for the animal which they wounded, and return those which they have taken off.

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[251] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 56.

[252] Bormé said that De Mézières delayed a month after being notified before he did anything: "*esto duro el espacio de un mes sin* q^e *Mr. de Meziers haia tomado alguna inquietud como si no hubiera sido comand*^{te}" [Memorial of Bormé to Unzaga y Amezaga, Nov. 3, 1770. Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 74].

This messenger is accompanied by twelve Natchitoches Indians, bearing his Majesty's banner and the calumet which they use on such occasions, it seeming to me plain that, by making this embassy with all the solemnity possible, these Indians of Akensa must restrain themselves in the future, and respect as they ought the dominions of our new sovereign.

The courier mentioned, who left twenty-four days ago, I am expecting soon, and I shall have the honor to report to your Lordship what success may have resulted from his journey.

Those twelve Natchitoches Indians have gone solely in the interest of the public welfare. I merely agreed to give the courier, named Juan Brebel, twenty pesos for his services, and I beg your Lordship to inform me if I may pay it from the money due here to the royal fisc and coming from the sale of confiscated goods, in virtue of the ordinances of this superior government.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years.

Very illustrious Sir, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general.

[*Postscript*]

[13] Natchitoches, August [September] 4, 1770.[232]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR—SIR: M. de Blan having deferred his journey until today, I am enabled to report to your Lordship that Juan Bautista Brevel, mentioned above, has just arrived from Los Akancas, whence he brought the stolen animals, to the great satisfaction of these citizens. This outcome we owe principally to the great pains and good government of M. de Maseilliere, of the said place and fort of El Akansas.

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[232] The document bears the date of August 4, but since it is written on the same sheet as no. 56, as a postscript, it is clear that the date must be later than August 20, therefore I suggest September 4 instead of August 4.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Very illustrious Sir, your hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

[Endorsement] Messieres No. 1. Answered Sept. 20, 1770.

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46. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[254]

AUGUST 21, 1770[255]

[No. 2] Natchitoches, August 21, 1770.

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: By letters which have just reached me from Caodachos, I am informed that the Indians, their enemies, have killed a person of that pueblo, whereat the rest are greatly angered, in view of the suspicion which they entertain that the authors of the murder are the Akensas Indians. If this proves to be the case there is no doubt that the liveliest hostilities will break out between the two nations. Since these would be so inimical to the peace of this jurisdiction and the neighboring one of Los Adaës, I can do no less than advise your Lordship beforehand, in order that you may deign to interpose your great authority to the end that they may be restrained in the future, and that the Akansas may be curbed as they should be, it devolving on me to quiet as best I can the feelings of the Cadodachos, so that there may be no movement on their part.

God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years.

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[254] For the reply see *Document* 48.

[255] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 58.

Very illustrious Sir, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general.

[Endorsement] Messieres No. 2. Answered Sept. 20, 1770.

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47. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
AUGUST 21, 1770[256]

[No. 5] Natchitoches, August 21, 1770.

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: The decree by which your Lordship's highness annulled the decision given by me in the case of the five hundred deerskins disputed by Antonio Charbonet and Estevan Ruiz, has come to my hands and I have read it with due respect. Concerning it let me say, for no other reason than to give evidence of my good intentions, that as both litigants were impatient to pursue their way, complaining of great losses from the delay, and as at the time they were going down the river they might have suffered the risks and delays which are encountered therein when the water is low, it was for these reasons that I made my decision, not without having repeatedly counseled them to come to an agreement [illegible] for this my decision, which was in favor of Esttevan Pavia. With respect to this Doctor Bovadilla says:

> Judges must not fail to hear the complaints that may be made before them regarding private injuries, especially those of the poor, for, saith Saint Luke, "avenge me of my adversary." And when heard, the judge must not be slow, nor fail because of his partiality, or for other reasons, to receive the information from them, lest thereby he make his own the plea of others, and be punished therefor. Polit. lib. III, cap. XV, Sec. 87.

And it being evident that all the trade with the Indians here, contrary to the dispositions and orders of the very illustrious Señor Don Antonio de Ulloa, was being absorbed by the most prominent and powerful person, I thought that by virtue of my office I would prevent the poor from being beaten out of the slender interests which they legitimately had in that trade. The fact that this has not been hidden from the never sufficiently praised sagacity of your Lordship, has served me as a greater stimulus to repress this extraordinary abuse; for your Highness concludes his appreciated communication of the sixteenth of last March in these solemn words:

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[256] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 61. The name Ruiz is clearly a misreading for Pavie.

> Destroying by these means the ambition and tyranny, which, with such an infraction of the rights of people and humanity, so commended by all nations, have formerly been practiced in that post, subjecting all the trade to one hand only, and to the interest of one person alone, there resulting from this monopoly odium to the nation and contempt for its sovereigns.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Very illustrious Sir, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

[Endorsement] Mezieres No. 5. Answered Sept. 21, 1770.

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48. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[257] TO DE MEZIERES SEPTEMBER 20, 1770[258]

[No. 2] In letter number 2 dated August 21, you inform me through communications which came from Caodachos you learned that one of the Indians of that tribe had been killed by Indians hostile to them; that not only were they very resentful in consequence, but, it was said, also very suspicious that the aggressors were the Indians of Akansas; and that because of the disturbances which would necessarily result to the districts surrounding that one the hostility of both nations was to be feared.

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[257] Reply to *Document* 46.

[258] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

In view of all the circumstances, and assuring me that for your part you would do everything possible to quiet the Caodachos, who were preparing to rise, you asked me to provide the means for the subjection of the Indians of Akansas. I will give my orders to this end, having confidence that you will do all you promise, and with the moderation which is necessary justly to govern and direct savages.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, Sept. 20, 1770. LUIS DE UNZAGA [rubric].
Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

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49. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA SEPTEMBER 27, 1770[259]

Natchitoches, September 27, 1770.

SEÑOR CAPTAIN GENERAL — SIR: I have the honor to report to your Lordship that the Nadadakious or San Pedro Indians, who last winter killed two Frenchmen and a Spaniard, as I reported to your Lordship at the time, have granted my just request that they should make recompense for this great perfidy with the death of the perpetrators. As a consequence the rest of the nations have and will have respect for us, and we will experience the inestimable benefit of having them for vassals of his Majesty.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].
Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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[259] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 244.

50. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
OCTOBER 23, 1770[260]

Natchitoches, October [2]3, 1770.[261]

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: Taking advantage of this mail, the cause of whose despatch is explained in those which follow, I have the honor to report to your Lordship my return from Cadodachos, and that with the departure of the canoes which are now being prepared to take the tobacco which they have been able to load, I will send the account of this journey, happily accomplished by the superior order of your Lordship.

May God guard and prosper the important life of your Lordship many years.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

[Endorsement] Answered Nov. 19, 1770.

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51. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
OCTOBER 23, 1770[262]

[No. 5] Natchitoches, October 23, 1770[263]

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: Just as I was ready to set out for the Cadodachos I met in the presidio of Los Adaes the Indians of San Pedro, or Nabedakious, coming to inform me that they had executed a person of their nation,[264] who, with the aid of one of the Nacogdoches (who is a fugitive and whom those of his pueblo are actively pursuing to mete out to him the same fate), killed the two Frenchmen and the Spaniard of whom I reported in my official communication of the 15th of last May, number 3. Since this desirable satisfaction was secured by force of suggestions and not by harshness, I report it to your Lordship as an incontestable proof of the zeal, respect, and love which those heathen manifest for us.

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[260] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 245.

[261] The transcript gives the date October 3, but this is impossible, since De Mézières had not returned to Natchitoches at that time. His return was about October 21, and as several letters were despatched by him on the 23d, it is probable that the correct date of this one is October 23. See *Documents* 51, 52, 53, 54.

[262] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 246.

[263] The transcript gives the date as October 29, but it is clearly the 23d, in view of the documents which follow. In manuscripts of this period the figures 3 and 9 are sometimes very hard to distinguish.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN$^{\text{IO}}$ DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

[Minute of reply] I rejoice as though the report which the Indians gave you were true.

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52. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
OCTOBER 23, 1770[265]

[No. 8] Natchitoches, October 23, 1770.

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: The canoes are taking all the tobacco they have been able to find. The crop would have been larger if the rumor which was spread of its fall in prices had not discouraged the inhabitants. In truth, if perchance this branch of commerce might be restored, it would be their best means of supporting their families; for if what is said regarding the demolition of the presidio of los Adaës and San Agustín del Orcoquisas[266] is true, they will be completely without opportunity to sell their grain, sole recourse which remained to them. We all thank your Lordship for the present favor, not doubting that you, who are father of the commonwealth and protector of the poor, will continue it if it is possible.

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[264] De Mézières gives an instance in 1775 in which a Frenchman was punished with death and his head placed on a pole at Natchitoches for the murder of two Indians.

[265] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 249.

[266] The reference is to the proposal to withdraw these establishments, a measure which was actually carried out in the years 1772-1773.

May God preserve your Lordship as many years as he is able and as I desire.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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53. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA OCTOBER 23, 1770[267]

[No. 9] Natchitoches, October 23, 1770.

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: I beg that your Lordship will please have it suggested to M. Ranson that he take advantage of the canoes which are down the river to bring up the presents to be given in the spring to the Cadodacho and Yatassi nations, because, although it is yet early, it is better to send these goods ahead of time, while there is an opportunity, than to have to wait for them when they are needed and there is no opportunity.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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[267] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 250.

54. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[268]
OCTOBER 23, 1770[269]

[No. 10] Natchitoches, October 23, 1770.

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: Some inhabitants of this district have come to see me to request that I give them my permission and a passport to take by land to Los Ylinuenses a drove of horses, which, considering the good prices there, they will trade for the goods which are found in that place; but since such journeys have not been customary here, I have preferred not to grant their petition till after consulting with your Lordship.

God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Señor Captain-general, your hand is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

55. DE MEZIERES TO GONZALEZ[270]
OCTOBER 26, 1770[271]

MY MOST VENERATED LORD AND MASTER: I transmit to you my letters for the Baron de Ripperda, to whom I have the honor of sending the same official report as that which I am directing to the captain-general of this province respecting those nations and their present disposition.

I shall not fail to tell the baron of the great satisfaction which I find in the sweet and amiable treatment accorded me by you and of the gratitude which I feel and shall always render for the many honors for which I am your debtor; finally, I shall certainly tell him what you are doing to aid in whatever offers for the greatest good of the service of both majesties, and that in this particular you go farther than your limited means in the way of goods and salary would appear to permit you.

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[268] For the reply see *Document* 63.

[269] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 82.

[270] José González was at this time in command of the presidio of Los Adaes. He entered the service in Texas early in life and remained in it until his death in 1773, which occurred at Nacogdoches, while he was executing an order to remove all the settlers from the eastern frontier of Texas. See Bolton, in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. ix, 82.

[271] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 100.

With respect to all this and much more which I might add, there is no need for you to express thanks; I speak the simple truth; and if I were to say what I might wish, I would have to overstate it, and thereby discredit such deserved emphasis.

I am sending to the Señor Governor (as you have suggested that I should do) my little account, properly itemized, with the prices, which, I predict, he will consider very moderate, judging from those which are current here, because on the goods which by your orders were taken from my house (and which were not for sale, but for my personal use) I make no profit, but have furnished them at the price which they cost me, and this in the most prosperous times.

Let me inform you that the account includes the three barrels of flour belonging to his most Christian Majesty, which I sent. That is to say, two to you and one to the Señor Sergeant. Their cost is five pesos[272] per barrel, which I have already paid to the royal treasury from my salary.

Likewise, I include the eight barrels of beans which I furnished from last year's harvest and which you will remember. Indeed, I have all of your letters and receipts; and it happens, to give better evidence, that you once took the beans which were destined for the father president.

Please remember, likewise, Sir, the hundred *azum-*

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[272] The *peso* is the Spanish dollar.

bres[273] of lard which I have paid to Antonio Charbonet; item, four pesos' worth of soap and sugar which were supplied at your order to Señor Zerda; item, the fifty barrels of maize which they carried in my launch, and which made one hundred, twenty-five in the ear, etc.

I remain at the orders of my Lady Doña Gerttrudis, whose feet I kiss, and await your commands, which I will obey promptly and with pleasure.

May God preserve you the many happy years which he is able and which I desire. Natchitoches, October 26, 1770.

Your most faithful and obedient servant kisses your hands. ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Commandant D^{n} J^{h} Gonzales

[Endorsement] Answered on the 30th of October, 1770.

56. GONZALEZ TO DE MEZIERES, OCTOBER 30, 1770[274]

MY MOST BELOVED MASTER: With unspeakable pleasure I yesterday received your esteemed letter dated the 26th ultimo, in which you inform me that you are sending to my governor the same official report as that which you are making to the governor of that colony, relative to the occurrences of your journey with the Reverend Father President Fray Miguel de Santa Maria y Silva to the nation of the Caudachos for the purpose of effecting the promised peace with the nations that trouble these provinces. It also approves the little that I have done to bring this peace about by means of my small faculties in the way of goods and salary, in respect to which, nevertheless, you have acknowledged my punctuality. I thank you most heartily, and will remit to the Señor Governor the packet which you send me.

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[273] An *azumbre* is a measure of liquids of varying magnitude. That of Castile is equal to 2.016,618 liters; that of Guipúzcoa, 2.52 liters, and that of Viscaya, 2.22 liters [*Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Lengua Española* (Madrid, 1872)].

[274] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 100.

All the rest which you write me, with respect to what you have supplied for the welfare of these troops, is correct. Concerning this I have written to the Señor Governor of what has occurred, in conformity with the data which you were pleased to send me. Since for the present I have nothing more to say except to reiterate my compliments, and, at her feet, to repeat my due respects to your Lady, and to proffer for mine due thanks, I beg that our Lord may prosper your life many years.

Adaes, October 30, 1770. Your faithful servant kisses your Grace's hand, which he venerates.

JPH. GONZALEZ.

Dⁿ Atanacio de Mesieres.

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57. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES NOVEMBER 27, 1770[275]

Monsieur Borme, militia captain of the post of Natchitoches, will take testimony herebelow, before two witnesses, as to whether the island on which anciently was founded the fort called San Juan Baptista is deserted, to whom it belongs, its quality, extent, and how far it is distant from terra firma; when it is done he will send it to me.[276]

New Orleans, November 27, 1770.

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[275] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 248a.

[276] This document has an important bearing on the first location of the presidio of Natchitoches. It shows clearly that the present site of Natchitoches is not, as some local students of that place have supposed, the island on which the fort was originally founded. See the discussion of the occurrences with reference to the removal of the fort from the island to terra firma in 1735-1756, in Altamira's *Testimonio de un Parecer*, published in the appendix of the original edition of Yoakum's *History of Texas*.

58. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA[277] NOVEMBER 29, 1770[278]

[No. 4] Natchitoches, November 29, 1770.

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: In my former letter dated August 21, number 2, I informed your Lordship of the death of a principal Indian of the Cadodachos, and of the suspicion that the Akansas were responsible for it; but it has been ascertained that it was the Osages.

Therefore I take the liberty to suggest to you how important it would be for the peace of this district if the Osages should refrain from such continuous insults and hostilities, which may finally cause painful consequences. This was on the point of happening two years ago when the cacique Tinhioüen, while pursuing a band of Osages who were running off a drove of horses stolen from his pueblo, encountered two chiefs of that nation in the house of a certain trader residing on the Akansas, whose establishment had gained among the Indians of this jurisdiction the reputation of having been founded for the purpose of supplying the Osages when they should undertake their forays. So grave a truth could not be concealed from the cacique, for a complete supply of all effects and the asylum enjoyed by his enemies were manifest to his sight, a circumstance at which he was so indignant that he ordered his people to kill the Osages at once; and he would have done the same with the merchant if he had not been restrained by the love which he constantly professes for our nation.

The outcome of such outrageous doings was the mutual resentment of both parties, for thus the cacique Tinhioüen was affected, and with reason, in view of the friendship which the Frenchman showed for his enemies; but he was able to restrain himself. The Osages, however, who do not practice the same moderation, being no less angry at the said Frenchman, because he consented that his guests should be killed in his own house and before his own eyes, gathered to avenge the wrong upon him. He prudently absented himself from so dangerous a place, but they did not on this account wish to fail to carry out their enterprise, and it was concluded by the killing of a poor fellow named Dauteüil, his wife, and his children.

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[277] See *Documents* 26, 30, 46, 59.

[278] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 80.

Thus it is that from a vile and despicable self-interest proceed such sad disturbances. Having already reported to your Lordship what takes place among the vagabonds of the Akansas River, I refrain from further staining the paper with an account of their illicit dealings and licentious lives.

Returning to my subject, let me say that the most effective way to establish peace and quiet in the territories of this district will be to forbid the Osages and Cadodachos from crossing the Akansas River, each confining themselves to the abundant chase which they will find in their respective districts. And since both are friendly to our nation, and since in case of any emergency which may arise they can give their aid, as has been experienced in the past, it is repugnant not only to humanity but also to good policy that they should constantly water with their blood the states of the common sovereign, when they would do so much better to save it, either to increase the trade of his subjects or for their defense.

I owe to the Cadodachos the sincere testimony that they are docile, and that whatever they may be ordered to do by your Lordship they will do gladly. And, although here the Osages appear haughty and bold, neither will they deny anything that your Lordship may cause to be suggested to them by the commander of Los Ylinuenses, whom they respect and fear.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years.

Señor Captain-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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59. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES [279]
DECEMBER 1, 1770 [280]

To number 4 of the same date, in which you suggest to me the advantage which would result to the peace of that post and the tranquillity of the savage nations if the Osages and Cadodachos were not permitted to cross the Akansas River, for the reasons which you set forth, I have nothing to say except that you will do what you think proper in such a case, since you have the matter before you, and since the command of your territory has been entrusted to your judgment.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, December 1, 1770.

Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

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60. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES [281]
DECEMBER 1, 1770 [282]

By number 5, I am informed that the Indians of San Pedro have reported to you that they have given satisfaction for the murder of one of our people committed by one of this nation. If the report is true, I rejoice at the good will of these Indians.

To number 2, in which you inform me of your friendly relations with the governor of Los Adaes, the Baron de Ripperda, my reply is "This is well;" and in order to maintain them you will do whatever is possible, which will give me great pleasure.

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[279] Compare *Document* 58, dated November 29.

[280] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 79.

[281] Reply to *Document* 51 and to another letter by De Mézières.

[282] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 254.

May God spare you many years. New Orleans, December 1, 1770.

Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

61. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES DECEMBER 2, 1770[283]

I repeat what I have said regarding what you tell me in number 6, to the effect that in the spring the man named Francisco Morvan will come down, although his decision is to be doubted, because once these people become accustomed from being with the savages to their own wild ways, they forget entirely good breeding, civilization, and religion as well.

You will continue the measure provided for in my decision regarding the petition of the cacique of Calidos, in order to rescue this poor man from the miserable life he is leading and that here he may be brought to a rational life, which I desire through natural compassion.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, December 2, 1770.

Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

62. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES[284] DECEMBER 2, 1770[285]

The order which by number 9 you ask me to issue to M. Razon to the end that he may take advantage of the canoes and furnish in them beforehand the presents which are to be given to the nations of the Cadodachos and Yatasés, I have omitted to give, and advisedly, because it would be idle to remove a man who is under my orders, as is also the remittance which you ask me for. Everything will be done in due time. You need not worry, for I shall take the necessary care.

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[283] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 280.

[284] Reply to *Documents* 52 and 53.

[285] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 279.

With regard to the worry over the tobacco of which you tell me in number 8, I should desire for those citizens that they might be afforded occasions like the present every day. This cannot be assured, but, nevertheless, they should not be discouraged in their labor. God will provide them the means for selling their tobacco. It is worse that they should be idle, for honest employment is always good for a person; and finally, to say the least, it cannot fail to furnish them a living.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, December 2, 1770.

Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

63. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES[286] DECEMBER 2, 1770[287]

With regard to the license which the inhabitants of that district ask to take horses to the Ylinuenses, and of which you advise me in letter number 10, let me say that if you find no objection, and no conflict between the expedition and the special instructions of your command, you may permit it.

God preserve you many years. New Orleans, December 2, 1770.

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[286] Reply to *Document* 54.

[287] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 81.

II. THE CONFERENCE AT CADODACHOS WITH THE NATIONS OF THE NORTH, 1770

64. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA

MAY 20, 1770[288]

[1ST] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: I have the honor to inform your Lordship that sometime during the month of the coming August the chiefs of the Comanchez and other enemies, each with the principal men of his village, are to assemble in that of the Cadodachos, according to the formal promise given me by the cacique Tinhioüen (who is held in very high esteem by all of them) to go and try to gather them and take them to his village, and, as soon as they are there, to report the fact to me, so that I may go in person to meet with them. In view of this, I earnestly beg your Lordship to grant me your permission, and, at the same time, to instruct me as to what I should do. This, it seems to me, is to bring those chiefs here, and, those of the friendly nations having been notified by me, to go with them to the Royal Presidio of Los Adaës, head of the province of Texas, in order that, in the name of his Majesty (your Lordship being the generous mediator of their pardon), and in the presence of the governor, Señor Don Juan Maria, Baron de Riperda,[289] and upon condition that they give full evidence of humility and repentance for their past insults, they be granted the treaties which are so important to the quiet of that disturbed province of Tejas. After this important ceremony has been completed, I ought to take them to their respective villages to take possesion, raise the royal standard, and receive the artillery which, with such disgrace to our arms, was left there by General Don Diego Orttiz Parrilla in the year 1759.

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[288] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 222.

[289] Ripperda became governor of Texas in 1770 and continued in that office till 1778.

May God preserve and prosper the important life of your Lordship many years. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches. May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, your hand is kissed by your most humble servant. ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].
Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

65. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MAY 20, 1770 [290]

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR — SIR: It being necessary that I should give presents to the Indian chiefs of whom I have just spoken, with a view to promoting their good disposition and rewarding them for the labor and fatigues which they will have incurred in their long journey from their pueblos to this place, I find indispensable the goods which I list in the accompanying memorandum. And, fearful that they may be denied me, as I have no funds on hand with which to buy them, I hope that your Lordship will favor me by interceding with M. Ranzon, to whom I am applying, that he may furnish them for me, on condition that they will be paid for from my income, from the coming month of June forward until they are entirely covered; for as I have bound myself with a strict and inviolable obligation to avoid any expense to the royal hacienda, however urgent the cause may be, I am far from thinking of doing so on this occasion, first, because it might happen through some accident or some unforeseen event that my project might not succeed; secondly, because my whole pleasure is to employ in the service of my master the salary which his royal mercy has deigned to assign me; thirdly, because, if my plan should succeed, as I am confident it will, I shall be amply rewarded by having served God and his Majesty, and having gained the esteem of your Lordship, which will always be the best crown to which my ardent hopes aspire.

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[290] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 224.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, May 20, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

[*Enclosure*]

List of goods which I request of M. Ranzon, on condition of paying for them from my income, beginning with the month of June next and continuing until they are entirely paid for. It is important that I should have these goods to make presents to the chiefs of the Comanchéz, Taoüaiazes, Tauacanas, Yscanis, Tancaoueys, and Quitseys, whom I expect in the coming month of August, to arrange for the establishment of the general peace between these Indians and the presidios of his Majesty.

Three flags
A quintal and a half of powder
Twelve *arrobas* of balls
Twenty fusils
Twenty pickaxes
Twenty hatchets
Twenty dozen pocket knives and hunter's knives

Twelve pounds of vermillion
Two *arrobas* of beads, white, blue, and red
Twenty-four staple shirts
Twenty-four mirrors
An assortment of awls, needles, worm screws, steels, scissors, and combs
Twenty-four blankets, of three points
Ten pounds of coarse copper wire

[Endorsement] Letters of M. De Mezieres which were not answered.

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66. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA JUNE 27, 1770 [291]

[3D] VERY ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

Sir: I am informed by the Nacogdochéz Indians, who have just visited me, that the Taouaïches nation has been joined recently by another numerous tribe from the Missuris, namely, the Panis-maha,[292] and that these two, having joined the Tuacanas, Caranaméz, and Maheys,[293] have gone at the instigation of the Comanchéz, who are accompanying and guiding them, to attack the Señor Baron de Ripperda when he goes from the presidio of San Antonio de Vexar to that of Los Adays; and although by way of Cadodachos I have learned that this gathering of savage heathendom has no other object than [to attack] the Osages, their irreconcilable enemies, I have not neglected to report it to Don

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[291] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 51.

[292] Panimachas, Panimaha, Pani Mahaws, Wolf Pawnee, Pawnee Loup, etc.; properly called the Skidi. This tribe is one of the four forming the Pawnee confederacy. Their traditional home is the Loup River, Nebraska. The movement southward of this tribe in the later eighteenth century was unknown to ethnologists until the De Mézières documents were discovered. Down to 1874 the main body of the Skidi remained in Nebraska. See *Handbook of American Indians*, part ii, under "Skidi."

[293] Mayeye, a Tonkawan tribe. For a note on this tribe, see Bolton in Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30*), part i, under "Mayeye."

Joseph Gonzales, who no doubt will take suitable measures in the matter; for from such people one must expect the worst, in order to take the precautions necessary to avert it.

I humbly repeat to your Lordship my sincere request that you grant me permission to go to the pueblos of these Indians, which certainly will be the most effective method of inducing them to sue for peace, for I will dispel the harmful notions which have been inculcated in them by the abandoned and perverse people who constantly go there from the Rio del Akansû and Los Ylinuezes. In this enterprise I will gladly sacrifice my person and my goods.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many years. Natchitoches, June 27, 1770.

Very illustrious Sir, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

67. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES SEPTEMBER 20, 1770[294]

[NO. 3] The journey which you have planned to undertake to Cadodachos to receive the nations of the Taüaiares, Juacanas, Tancaüeys, Caranames, Yscanes, and Quieseys, who were formerly hostile but now ask for peace (with a view to granting which you go,[295] as you inform me in letter number 3 of August 21, under the capitulations which you enclose to me), appears to me very desirable. You may execute it, confident of my approbation, and may assure the Indians of the good faith with which we treat our friends, of the humanity which his subjects and good vassals receive from the sovereign of Spain, of the reward for favors, of the punishment for delinquencies, and, in short, of everything which you may judge calculated to influence them to constancy toward and love for the Spanish nation.

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[294] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

[295] "*Con la idea de darselo*" is ambiguous, it not being clear whether the author's meaning is that of the rendering given above, or that the Indians had asked for peace with the idea of yielding it.

Apropos of the wise precautions which you tell me you have taken to prevent them from exploring those posts, I think that you ought to make sure that the peace which they ask is single-minded, pure, and free from any criminal machinations. Be cautious, and proceed in everything with the policy which these and similar cases demand.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, Sept. 20, 1770. LUIS DE UNZAGA [rubric].

P.S. If you go to receive these Indians you will entrust the command during your absence to the captain of militia.

Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

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68. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
SEPTEMBER 27, 1770[296]

Natchitoches, September 27, 1770.

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: There came to this fort to-day three Indian chiefs who are greatly esteemed and have large followings among the rest of the natives, for the purpose of taking me to Cadodachos, where already are assembled the nations concerning which in a former letter, dated August 21, I had the honor to report to your Lordship, saying that I was obliged to accompany them in order not to spoil (as might happen if I should deny their eager petitions) the fruits of the good and sincere dispositions of such people. Hitherto they have been our enemies, but at the powerful impulse of your Lordship's voice, constantly repeated by mine (which will always be your faithful echo), they have congregated eagerly[207] and from the most remote north, in order to effect the peace which in the name of your Lordship and as your agent I have promised them, and from which no doubt will result the quieting of the disturbed neighboring provinces. And, although I am persuaded on good grounds that this object is the highest to which I can devote myself, nevertheless, I grieve to see that for lack of opportunity and because fate is against me, I have not had the good fortune, which I so much desire, to receive the last orders and instructions, sure guide for my conduct, which your Lordship deigned to issue to me in your appreciated communication of the sixteenth of last March. This has caused me the greatest irresolution, which has been dispelled only by the well founded suspicion and fear that if I do not set out the nations mentioned will become disgusted, attributing to fickleness and lack of courage on my part what should be attributed to my due respect, and, therefore, making difficult and even impossible their congregation and conquest in the future. Moreover, judging from my experience with their ferocity, since this is the time when they assemble to go to steal and make war, it would not be surprising if on account of their anger some new enterprise should be set on foot against the subjects and presidios of his Majesty. Therefore, and in view of my intentions, which I protest are those of a most loyal subject, I humbly beg your Lordship to approve my unavoidable departure, assuring you that my absence from this post will not be more than a month, and that on my return I will place before your superior notice a very detailed and I trust in God a very favorable report regarding the conclusion of this highly important negotiation.

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[296] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 243.

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[207] *Apesuoxamente*, Fr. *empressement.*

May God preserve the life of your Lordship the many happy years which I desire.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

69. REPORT BY DE MEZIERES OF THE EXPEDITION TO CADODACHOS, OCTOBER 29, 1770[298]

Official Relation by the lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches to the captain-general of Luisiana concerning the expedition which, by order of his Lordship, he made to Cadodachos to treat with the hostile tribes whose chiefs met in that village

Fort San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches,
October 29, 1770.

SIR: I have just returned from the village of San Luiz de Cadodachos, where I went in conformity with your Lordship's orders. There accompanied me, besides the sub-lieutenant of militia and five other persons of this post, who generously and disinterestedly joined me, a sergeant and four soldiers of the presidio of Los Adaes. I am indebted to Dn. Joss^{h} Gonzales for the grant of this detachment. We both thought it would be very important, in an enterprise so much to the interest of the royal service, that all of the Indians should be witnesses of the close union which to-day exists between the subjects of the two jurisdictions; for, the love which these Indians have professed for the French since the time of our coming being notorious, it was to be presumed that they would profess it no less for the Spaniards, to whom, they would be given to understand, we have the happiness of seeing ourselves forever annexed by the special grace and favor of the Catholic sovereign.[299]

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[298] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20. Also *ibid.*, vol. 100.

The Most Reverend Father de Santa María, president of the missions of the district of Los Adaes, also was pleased to make this journey, notwithstanding the continual feebleness of his health.[300] His ardent zeal has brought me no little harmony, because it afforded an opportunity to impress upon the barbarian Indians with whom I proposed to treat – who had sacrilegiously killed at the foot of the altars, when the mission of San Saba was sacked by them, two ministers of the same habit, though not of the same college[301] – by showing my respect for that worthy religious, the respect with which they ought to regard all of his seraphic order whom they might meet in the future, they being the ones charged with the conversion of infidels in the adjacent province of Texas.

After having passed through the bands of the Adays, Yatassi, and Peticado,[302] where we found most abundant supplies prepared – so much the more to be appreciated because of the visible affection of the natives who offered them, who failed not to hoist the flag of his Majesty in order to render to it profound veneration – we arrived at Cadodachos, not without having considerably augmented our number by the addition of the caciques and principal men of these villages, who gladly and of their own accord joined us.[303]

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[299] The reference, of course, is to the cession of Louisiana to Spain by France, in 1762.

[300] Fray Miguel de Santa María y Silva was a member of the College of Guadalupe de Zacatecas which, since 1730, when the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro withdrew from that region, had been in charge of all the missions of eastern Texas. See his report of the expedition of 1770 to Cadodachos, *Document* 133.

[301] The mission of San Sabá had been founded jointly by the colleges of Santa Cruz de Querétaro and San Fernando de México. The two missionaries killed during the attack were Fray Giraldo de Terreros, ex-guardian of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, and Fray José de Santiestevan. [Bonilla, *Breve Compendio*, in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. viii; Molina's "Relacion" in *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. 28.]

[302] See map. For notes on each of these tribes, see *Handbook of American Indians*. Peticado was the French name for Little Caddo or Lower Caddo [Petit Caddo]. See also *Document* 4. It may be noted that the original here reads *"de los Adaes, del Yatassi, y del Peticado."* This fact has some bearing on the forms of the names in use.

The village of San Luiz de Cadodachos, which belongs to this district, is one hundred leagues from the fort of Natchitoches and eighty from the Akensas. Situated on the banks of the Colorado River,[304] it is surrounded by pleasant groves and plains, is endowed with lands of extreme fertility, and abounds in salines and pastures. If to these advantages of the place there be added the great loyalty of its inhabitants and the importance of their territory which, with respect to neighboring foreigners,[305] should be considered the master-key of New Spain, it is undoubtedly well worthy of the favor with which the enlightened sagacity of your Lordship is pleased to distinguish it.

The cacique, Tinhioüen, a man of talent and of great authority in all of the neighboring bands, commanded, on the very day of our arrival, that there be announced for the following day a meeting of the magnates and old men of his jurisdiction, and cited to appear at it the seven chiefs of the Tavaïazés, Tuacanas, Iscanis, and Quitseys. These alone were awaiting me there, because at the Sabinas River a panic had seized the people whom they were bringing, from fear that the meeting was called not so much to assure them that the atrocities committed by them were forgotten, as in order that by ill-advisedly and rashly delivering them up, their punishment might be effected – a thought worthy of barbarians, and from which the chiefs mentioned freed themselves only through having more valor than the rest.

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[303] For more details on this part of the journey, see the account by Father Santa Maria, *Document* 133.

[304] This is the name given to the Natchitoches River, which is distinct from the Colorado, near the Guadalupe. – ORIG.

[305] The English, who are only three leagues from our fort of the Akensas. – ORIG.

The harangue which I made to these latter was essentially as follows:

> That at last had come the much-wished-for day when I was permitted to tell them by word of mouth of the matters which I had already communicated by means of the friendly tribes; that for this purpose I gladly came at the command of the captain-general of Luiziana, my chief, father and protector of the Indians; that it was his wish to be fully informed of their disposition and that, if this seemed to me good, I had orders to assure them of his benevolence; that they already must have realized that the present time was different from that when plentiful assistance, not only for their support and for that of their families, but also for resisting their enemies was furnished them through Natchitoches; that the great abuse (worthy of eternal silence since with remembrance of it alone one's eyes were filled with tears), which they had made of this aid, was the just reason for having suspended it and for continuing to suspend it until we should be fully assured of their better conduct; that they could not doubt, in view of that respectable flag which they saw hoisted, that we had become naturalized as Spaniards; that our new and beloved monarch was the most powerful in the world, and emperor of the Indies; that, notwithstanding the fact that they had gained the indignation of so high a prince – the illustrious chief whom I represented and for whom I spoke in this small portion of his extensive dominions – he would grant them the peace which they had come to seek if they would but show themselves constantly deserving of such a boon; that the clemency and the magnanimity of the Catholic king equalled his immense power; that those of his subjects on whom he looked with the most love and compassion were the natives; that he pitied their helplessness and wished to remedy it; that the wish of this illustrious sovereign

was that in the future none of them should be slaves[306] of his other subjects, but their brothers instead; that they should decide whether they wished to enjoy such august patronage and aid; that for the reasons expressed they should desist from robberies and hostilities; that finally, and it would not be long, they would bring upon themselves the imponderable weight of his invincible arms; that they should profit by the good example and inviolable fidelity of the friendly Cadodachos, whose hands, far from having been stained with our blood, had been dedicated, at the cost of their own, to the defense of our lives, when the ferocious Natchez threatened them by their invasion of Natchitoches, a deed worthy of the greatest applause, and one which for all time will receive the gratitude which it merits;[307] that they should look to the north, at the Osages; to the west, at the Comanches; to the south, at the Apaches; and to the east, at the Spaniards of Luisiana, all their enemies; that they were placed in the midst of four fires, which, raising their horrible flames, would reduce them to ashes as easily as the voracious fire consumes the dry grass of the meadows; that they should inform me of the decision they had made in so obvious and so frightful a situation; that they should, above all, refrain from moving their lips to invent excuses which sooner or later their deeds would belie; and finally, that they should rest assured that there was no hope for aid except under the conditions above expressed, since the very name of Frenchman had been erased and forgotten; that we were Spaniards, and, as such, as sensitive to the outrages committed as we would be interested in avenging them as soon as they might be resumed; that that grave and venerable man at whose side I was seated, held by us in the greatest esteem, was, as they could see by the grey habit that he wore, a companion of those of the same garb, whom, though helpless, they had exultantly beheaded at San Saba;[308] but that, far from being angry, he had come in person to invite them to merit his pardon, which they would receive if they should truly repent.

Then I arose and, cordially and affectionately taking the hand of each one of the surrounding Spaniards, I tried by this demonstration to make more evident the close and sacred pact which binds us.[309]

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[306] Before taking possession, the Indians who were ransomed among their enemies were held as slaves in La Luiziana. – Orig.

[307] This occurred in 1729. – Orig.

[308] It is a fact that one of the two missionaries killed at San Sabá was beheaded, but the other was not. See Molina's "Relacion," *op. cit.*

I am indebted to the cacique Tinhioüen and that of the Yatassi, called Cocay, both decorated with his Majesty's medals,[310] and alike devoted to our nation,[311] for at once seconding my discourse with arguments so apropos, so effective, and withal so worthy of their known loyalty, that to try to relate them would be to over-state and discredit them.

In the meantime, the chiefs of the Tauaïasés, Touacanas, Yscanis, and Quitseys remained seated, almost rooted to the ground, fixing their gaze upon it in a most humble posture. Then, when it was their turn to respond, after having consulted at length with one another, the one who was skilled in the Cadodacho language[312] gravely, without confusion, and with calm countenance raised his voice and said:

> That their discord with the Spaniards arose from the fact that, with the recent founding of the presidio and mission of San Saba, the Spaniards had treated as guests and given aid to their enemies, the Apaches; that until that time they could not be charged with the slightest offense, although they well knew the location of the Spaniards' ranches, villages, and presidios; that

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[309] This version of De Mézières's attitude toward the Spaniards, as evidenced by the expedition under consideration, does not tally exactly with that given by Fray Santa Maria. It must be remembered that the latter was written after a quarrel had occurred between the two witnesses. See *Document* 133.

[310] The most excellent Sir Don Alexander O'Reilly distributed to the friendly caciques the flag and medal of his Majesty. The latter is of the weight of an ounce of silver. On one side is seen the royal portrait with these words; "Carlos III, King of spain [*sic.*] and emperor of the Indies." On the other, and between laurels; "for merit." – Orig.

[311] For a discussion of the various kinds of medals given to the natives by the different European nations, see *Handbook of American Indians*, article on "Medals."

[312] This passage has a bearing on the linguistic differences between the Wichita and Caddo, related groups. The inference is that not all of the Wichita chiefs were "skilled in the Cadodacho language."

many times when they had set out to explore the country for their own safety or with the intention of seeking their enemies in question, they had found them mingled with the Spaniards, who aided them whenever they offered to fight; that in support of the truth of this assertion they would cite the aid given by the Apaches when the Spanish army directed its march to Tavaïaz;[213] that as a result of this occurrence, the hatred had increased more and more; but that now their rancor had entirely disappeared; that for this reason the Tuacanas and Yscanis, immediately upon learning of the wish of the great Captain of La Luiziana, have abandoned the establishment which they had in the vicinity of San Antonio de Vexar and San Saba and are to-day living off to one side, not far from San Pedro; that under no pretext will they move from there; and that they will leave the Apaches in quiet rather than occasion disastrous contingencies; that they have given ear to the admonishments that they should live in peace; that they have placed it all in the most secret recesses of the heart; that they truly desire and ask for peace; that their punctual obedience in coming to secure it has been very disastrous to them, because the Comanches, who were formerly among their allies, having been irritated by this decision, are now waging a most cruel war against them, but that not on that account will they waver in their promises; that they cannot conceal how oppressed they live by such an enemy, who invests them in all directions with such inquietude that they are not permitted to breathe; that they deserve the greatest compassion; and that they implore with confidence that of the French, their ancient protectors.

I again took up the discussion and said:

Do not forget that there are now no Frenchmen in these lands, and that we are all Spaniards. I have and will keep in mind your promises in order to report them to my chief, to whom they will undoubtedly be pleasing, and he will receive you into the number of his children and of the happy subjects of our monarch. But meanwhile it is fitting, since you have committed so many insults, robberies, and homicides in San Antonio de Vexar and vicinity, that without loss of time you should journey to that city, with the interpreter whom I shall provide for you and two

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[213] The reference is to Parrilla's campaign of 1759. See page 49.

> Spaniards who will accompany you, carrying a flag to protect you. There you will humble yourselves in the presence of a chief of greatest power who resides there, and whose part it is to ratify the treaty which you seek, since you have established yourselves within his jurisdiction,[314] and to name the light and easy conditions to which you must conform in order not to incur the misfortune of being deprived of so desirable a boon.

Upon hearing this proposal they remained undecided for a long while, but, after having discussed the matter among themselves, they refused entirely to comply with it, making a pretext now of the lack of horses, again of the risk which they would run from the Apaches, and availing themselves of many other excuses, such as the haste with which they must construct their houses, the lateness of the season, the storms which occur in the winter, etc. But when I asked them whether they would not at least accompany me to Los Adaes, in order that the Spaniards there, by whom they would be lovingly received, might report it to the great captain at San Antonio, who would be much pleased by such authentic testimony, then I discerned clearly what I had already suspected. They were equally unwilling to consent to this suggestion, and I no longer had the least doubt of the unconquerable fear which they felt; for, since they are barbarians, and since with them vengeance is not a defect, but a virtue, and since in treachery they find the laurel for their most heroic deeds, their material natures do not imagine that there could be people endowed with more sublime thoughts. Of this they will be convinced only by the tenderness and constancy of our treatment.

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[314] This passage implies a considerable and distinct migration within a short time before 1770. The statement concerning the building of houses, in the next paragraph, seems to allude to the same migration. The passages, therefore, are important for a very obscure period in the history of the Wichita tribes.

The method which I had judged most certain to establish with authority the public peace and to dissipate the mutual distrust not having succeeded, what remained for me to do but to continue with caution and gentleness? And thus, appearing more sad than severe, I concluded by protesting that all that I had said on the part of the captain-general of Luiziana was the absolute truth; that likewise I assumed the absolute sincerity of their good professions; but that time would prove it better; and that, relying upon the judgment of time, I would meanwhile keep on deposit the presents which I had intended to make them had they conceded to the just demands which I was thus discussing; that only to secure so legitimate an end had my chief sent me; that nevertheless, I would bend my energies towards making their ill-founded obstinacy bearable to him, and that I was not displeased even at having been exposed, for the most part in vain, to the fatigues of so extended a journey.

They replied unanimously and without perturbation that in the spring they would assemble; that meanwhile they would pursue only the occupation of the chase; that, although poor, they regretted only not having fully convinced me of their desires. Hereupon we adjourned and did not meet again.

I beg your Lordship to note that as soon as the Tuacanas and Iscanis were notified of your superior determination they left the place in which they were residing, in the vicinity of San Antonio de Vexar and of the highway to Mexico, and that to-day they have taken refuge in the district of Los Adaes.[215] This makes it seem plausible that, having deserted the place where with more ease and promptitude they could perpetrate the ferocious deeds natural to them and to which they had devoted themselves, they must have resolved to dedicate themselves to saner occupations.

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[215] I.e. near San Pedro.

Furthermore, reflecting upon the critical situation in which they are placed by so many enemies, one would naturally imagine that they cannot escape the conclusion that they can secure their own preservation only through the favor offered them by those whom they recognize as more generous.

Above all, since they lack powder, bullets, fire-arms, and the munitions of war which we use (from the nefarious trade in which have resulted events so injurious to us), the implements necessary for the cultivation of their lands, and other urgent necessities – which will by no means be supplied to them (unless it should be by the friendly Indians, who, it is important for this reason, should not be overstocked with them), until your Lordship provides for it in some other way – they appear to be incapable of doing harm, even though they may plan it under the deceitful veil of hypocrisy.

I am informed that the Tavaïases, who, although they form with the foregoing a single nation,[216] live apart for greater convenience in hunting, being without the accustomed supplies furnished them through the disordered greed of the traders (whom, by order of your Lordship I made retire),[217] have gone to the interior, far to the north, seeking asylum in the dark solitudes which lie between the Natchitoches and Akensas Rivers; but that now, in the hope of obtaining peace, they propose again to draw near to Cadodachos. Before they deserted the village which they occupied they buried the two pieces of brass artillery which colonel Don Diego Orttes Parrilla abandoned on his defeat,[318] and which they will show and deliver to whom-so-ever may go for them. They would do the same with two Spanish women, the only ones they have in their power, not slaves now, but free, in case the women would consent to it; but this I doubt, because, having had union with the Indians, from which have issued children, whom their fathers would not give up, they would remain, not alone because of their natural mother-love, but also through the well-merited shame which they would suffer among Christians for their infamous unchastity.

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[216] This is in harmony with modern opinion, which classes the Tawakoni Iscanis, and Taovayas as subdivisions of the Wichita group, of which the Wichita tribe was a rather minor one in Texas, notwithstanding the fact that it gave its name to the group.

[217] See "Introduction," *footnote* 78, and *Document* 17.

CARANAMÉZ. Near the Tuacanas the Caranaméz[319] have their ranchería. They are apostate and fugitive Indians from the mission of La Bahya del Espiritu Santo, who, going among our heathen enemies, in order to gain their good will have shown them the entrances to and exits from the land where they were raised and taught, thus furnishing them the means to perpetrate the thieveries, outrages, and murders, in which they have assisted in no small degree, and which have placed the province of Texas in danger of being lost–venomous serpents who have tried to kill with their poison those who had received them into their fold. Their correction would be easily possible if entrusted to the heathen Indians, since these, as is the case with strangers,[320] have not acquired for them any love except that which is due momentarily to malice, for it is known that one uses a traitor while hating the treason. But, since these Caranaméz are experienced in civilized life, and have been regenerated to another and better by the saving water of baptism, it appears to me that this matter is very serious[321] and that such a recommendation to barbarians might result in their complete destruction instead of their punishment. And thus I refer it to your Lordship that you may be pleased to point out the rule which I must follow in order to achieve the remedy without running the risk of encompassing the ruin of so many souls. I must not omit to emphasize to your Lordship the importance of making these natives retire,[322] because the fear and hate which they have for us (and this is what the benefactor experiences from the ingrate) will lead them either to stir up the others or to be likewise lost themselves.

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[318] In 1772 and 1778 De Mézières found the Taovayas villages on the upper Red River, as is shown by *Documents* 90 and 175. It is possible that they were in the same place in 1770, but that De Mézières did not know their exact location. An indication that they lived in 1778 where the battle had occurred in 1759 is the fact that in the later year the cannon were at their village. Of course, they might have moved the cannon from one place to another with the villages. In 1772 De Mézières planned to take the cannon to San Antonio with him, but changed his mind. They were recovered by him and taken to the village of Pilar de Bucareli, on the Trinity River, in 1778. [See Bolton, in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. ix, 108, and *Document* 47.] Later they were taken to San Antonio.

[319] The Xaraname, or Jaraname. The name is usually written in English "Araname."

TANCAUEYS. The chiefs of the Tancaüeys had planned to go with the others to Cadodachos, but as they are wanderers, without crops, and without other sustenance than that afforded by wild fruits and the chase, they separated until notice of my arrival should come. It came so unexpectedly that, although they have been searched for, they could not be found; but all assert that their dispositions are very peaceful, and that with them there will be no trouble whatever.

QUITSEYS. Of the Quitseys I have nothing to say except that they are most docile and well-intentioned, and that, having taken part in the hostilities only once, this being when the mission of San Saba was sacked (an event in which they participated through accidentally being with the others), they have since steadfastly refused to have a hand in any of the disturbances which the hostile nations have been plotting.

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[320] The name *advenedizo* is applied to a person from a different part of the same realm; *estrangero* to one from outside the realm; *forastero* to one from another realm, province, place or family. [Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario Castellano* (Madrid), 1786, vol. i, 34.]

[321] It is not clear what is "serious."

[322] Evidently the Xaraname.

The benefit which may be promised, as I am persuaded, from the embassy in which your Lordship has been pleased to employ me, useless though I am, is the greater quiet of the province of Texas; for of the seven tribes which were ravaging it there remains [hostile] to-day only that of the Comanché. They, as has been said, are now found with the Quitseys, Caranaméz, Yscanis, and Tuacanas, who, for their mutual defense, have moved nearer to one another, and who, judging from the events which are taking place, will not long delay attracting and interesting the Taouaiazes, their kindred and allies.[323] And as far as my insinuations may avail, I shall endeavor, if it meets your Lordship's approval, to enliven more and more so opportune a discord,[324] from which it will result that this heathendom may by its own hands and with its own blood pay for its past insolence and pride.

COMANCHÉZ. The Comanché are scattered from the great Missuris River to the neighborhood of the frontier presidios of New Spain. They are a people so numerous and so haughty that when asked their number, they make no difficulty of comparing it to that of the stars. They are so skillful in horsemanship that they have no equal; so daring that they never ask for or grant truces; and in the possession of such a territory that, finding in it an abundance of pasturage for their horses and an incredible number of cattle which furnish them raiment, food, and shelter, they only just fall short of possessing all of the conveniences of the earth, and have no need to covet the trade pursued by the rest of the Indians whom they call, on this account, slaves of the Europeans, and whom they despise.

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[323] The Comanche cannot be included in this statement, as they were a band of the Shoshones and in no way related to the Taovayas.

[324] De Mézières means discord between the Comanche and the other tribes of which he is speaking in this connection. This is clear from the second paragraph below.

The wandering life of the Comanché is important for their sustenance, because, not finding it in the northern region on the arrival of winter, whose frosts drive away the wild herds, they are obliged to follow them into the more temperate country of the south, whence the extreme heat of the summer again drives them along with the herds towards the cold regions. From these perpetual comings and goings it arises that the Comanchés, relying upon one another, made proud by their great number, and led by their propensity to steal, let few seasons pass without committing the most bloody outrages against the inhabitants of New and Old Mexico. Thus it is to be concluded that, since their reduction will be one of the most costly and difficult that may be planned in this America, it does not contravene good policy to be attentive to and to encourage, to some extent, those who are interested in the destruction of so proud and cruel an enemy.

Just as I was ready to leave Cadodachos I was overtaken by a messenger sent by Don Joseph Gonsales, who informed me of the order which he had received from the Señor Baron de Ripperda to send to Vexar without delay the twenty men who were in his presidio, and that, accordingly, I should endeavor promptly to fulfill my commission, in order that, the detachment of five soldiers who accompanied me being restored, they might join that troop. Some say that the presidio of Los Adaes is soon to be destroyed so that it may be moved elsewhere;[325] others say that there is being planned in Vexar a vigorous campaign against the Indians of whom I have just treated. If this should occur, the Indians giving no new cause for being attacked, what renown are we to gain, when in one place the pleasant voice of peace is heard and in another the tumult of arms? It will be a sad thing if this comes to pass, for its beginning will reap for our nation the most unconquerable hatred and abhorrence.

It being evident to me that from now to the end of spring these Indians intend doing as they have declared to me, I conclude by entreating your Lordship to command me, in case it is desirable, to go to their villages, take possession of them in the name of his Majesty, hoist in each one the royal standard, and distribute the gifts which I have destined for this purpose and which I have promised them.[326]

May our Lord preserve the important life of your Lordship many years.

ATHANASIO DE MEZIERES Y CLUGNY.

70. DEPOSITIONS RELATIVE TO THE EXPEDITION TO CADODACHOS, OCTOBER 30-31, 1770[327]

Order

Don Joseph Gonzales, lieutenant-commander of this presidio and general of this province, in the absence of my governor, the Señor Colonel D^{n} Juan Maria de Ripperda, etc:

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[325] This came to pass in 1773, in pursuance of the order of September 10, 1772. See "Introduction." The whole matter is discussed in full by Bolton in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. ix, 67-137.

[326] This suggestion was carried out in 1772-1773.

[327] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20. Also *ibid.*, vol. 100.

Whereas, with respect to the expedition to the Caodachos nation which D^{n} Atanasio Missieres, commandant of the Royal Presidio of San Juan Bautista de Nachitos, made in company with the Reverend Father President Fray Miguel de Santa Maria y Silba, to secure peace with the nations which infest the interior presidios of this province, the said D^{n} Atanasio de Misier has not been pleased to give me a formal report of what took place in regard to this important matter, as is shown by the original letter which stands at the head of these judicial acts, together with the copy of the reply that was made to him this day,[328] it was necessary to draw up the requisite judicial acts, with the purpose of learning the state in which the said Señor de Misier left that nation and the others, their allies; therefore he [González] was in duty bound to order and he did order that the depositions of the sergeant of this company, Domingo Chirino, and of the four soldiers who accompanied him, be taken, and that an exhortation be issued to the said reverend father president, to the end that his most reverend paternity might be pleased to set forth whatever he might have observed in this matter; and thus he provided and ordered, over his signature, in this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, on the thirtieth day of the month of October of this year of seventeen hundred and seventy. Done before me as receiving judge, with the assisting witnesses,[329] in the absence of a public or a royal notary, there being none in this province, and on this common paper. To this I certify. Between the lines: "Of this year of seventeen hundred and seventy." Valid.[330]

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[328] *Documents* 55 and 56.

[329] For the translation of the terms *testigos de assistencia* and *juez receptor*, I follow the form used in legal practice.

JOSPH GONSALEZ [rubric].
RAMON BENERO, *Witness* [rubric].
ANICETTO VISSENTE CAAMANO, *Witness* [rubric].

Deposition of Sergeant Domingo Chirinos[331]

Forthwith I, the said lieutenant, in virtue of the foregoing order, caused to appear before me the sergeant of this company, Domingo Chirino, to whom I caused the said order to be read; and to him, whom I certify that I know, I personally administered the oath. He took it before God our Lord and with the sign of His holy cross, and under charge of it he promised to speak the truth regarding what he might know and be asked. Having understood the order, he said that, having gone with all those persons mentioned above to the nation named the Caodachos, they found in it five chiefs, of whom he remembered only three, namely, those of the Taguacana, the Yscan, and the Tahuayas; that the commandant of the presidio of Nachitos, Dn. Atanacio de Misiera, having informed them by means of the interpreter, called Alexi, who was found there, the purpose for which he had gone to that place, which was to secure peace with all those nations, they merely declared that they would be quiet and that the roads would be free so that they might be traveled over, but made no other demonstration of true peace. And thus he answers.

On being asked what was the reason why the said Indians did not wish to come to this presidio nor to that of

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[330] This means that the words in quotation marks are written between the lines in the text, and that they are a part of the original. This statement was made to prevent tampering with the documents.

[331] It seems to have been the depositions which follow and the report by Fray Santa María that caused the suspicion of De Mézières's friendship for the Spaniards.

San Antonio, and if everything they needed was promised them, he said that he did not know the reasons why they did not wish to make the one or the other journey, but that although they were promised everything necessary for making the journey as well as that the reverend father president would go, together with the deponent and one soldier, they did not accept. And thus he answers.

On being asked if the said Señor de Misier gave any part of the presents which he carried to the said nation and the rest of the chiefs, he replied that he did not give them a thing, but that all that he carried he loaded into the canoe in which he had the reverend father president brought back by water, and that he does not know what became of the present, since he came directly to this presidio. And thus he answers.

On being asked whether in those nations or in the ones he encountered on his march he saw any Spaniards or Frenchmen trading in powder and balls, he replied that in the nation of the Caodachos there are Frenchmen who have been established there for many years, the one who commands them being he named Alexi, and likewise in the nation of the Cados,[332] the head one there being he named Du Pain; that in the first nation they have a fort equipped with everything; that formerly a detachment of soldiers was maintained there,[333] and that both places have served and now serve these Frenchmen for trading in powder, balls, guns, and other articles of commerce, with these and the rest of the nations, neighbors of these. And thus he answers.

On being asked if he considered that the peace which was suggested to them could be effected, and in what frame of mind he thought the Indians had been left, he replied that he believed it is not the intention of the Indians to be at peace with the Spaniards, but that, on the contrary, the war will become more lively,[334] both because of the discontented state in which they were left, at not having been given the present which was carried for this purpose, after they had been caused to come so far to this nation, as well as because, notwithstanding the fact that they professed what he had stated above, it is not in keeping with their actions, for otherwise they would have undertaken the journey to one of the two places suggested; and since they did not do so, it is to be believed that they will perpetrate more hostilities. This is all that he has to say on the matter; and this his declaration having been read to him *de verbo ad verbum*, he says that it is correct, and that he has nothing to add or to subtract, since it is the truth, by the oath taken; and he affirmed and ratified it once, twice, thrice, and as many times as by law he may be permitted. He did not sign, as he does not know how, but he made with his own hand the sign of the holy cross, and I signed it with my assisting witnesses. To this I certify.

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[332] The Cados here mentioned are the same as the Peticados mentioned by Fray Santa María. See *Document* 133.

[333] This fort was established in 1719 by Bénard de la Harpe. See Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, vol. vi, 241 *et seq.*

JOSPH. GONSALEZ [rubric], [+]
RAMON BENERO, *Witness* [rubric].
ANICETTO VISSENTE CAAMANO, *Witness* [rubric].

Deposition of Christobal Carabaxal

In the said royal presidio, on the said day of the said month and year, I, the said lieutenant, in continuation of these judicial proceedings, caused to appear before me the soldier Christobal Carabaxal, and to him, whom I certify that I know, I personally administered the oath. He took it before God our Lord and with the sign of His holy cross, and under charge of it he promised to speak the truth with respect to what he might know and be asked. And having made known to him the contents of the foregoing order, and he understanding it, he said that, having accompanied all of the persons named in it to the nation of the Caodachos, where various chiefs of other nations met, from the whole conference which they held, by means of a French interpreter named Alexi, nothing resulted except that the said D^{n} Athan^{io}, in the presence of the said nations and chiefs, gave his hand both to the reverend father president and to the other surrounding Spaniards who were there, but that no other demonstration of peace in use among the Indians was made; for, although the said reverend father president inquired of Señor De Misier if he should give his hand to the chiefs,[335] he answered that it was not necessary, whereupon the conference came to an end. And thus he answers.

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[334] Contrast this opinion with that expressed by De Mézières, in *Document 69*.

Being asked if the said Don Athanasio had talked to them about their going to San Antonio or to Los Adaes to perform the peace ceremony, and if they were promised everything they needed [for this purpose], he answered in the affirmative, but that the chiefs did not concede to this proposal, saying that they were tired, but that, nevertheless, there need be no fear about the roads, which were free from all risk. And thus he answers.

Being asked if any presents were given to these nations he replied that, although Señor Mesier went for this purpose, he decided not to give them anything, but loaded it all into the canoe in which he had the reverend father president brought back by water; but that he [the deponent] does not know what became of this present, since he returned to this presidio by land. And thus he answers.

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[335] The meaning at this point is not quite clear. It may be that *si le dava* should be *si se dava*, but the same expression occurs in one of the later depositions. The exact force of *expuso* is likewise not clear. Perhaps "suggested that he should give his hand to the chiefs" is the meaning. See the report by Fray Santa María y Silva, *Document* 133, which explains what is meant.

Being asked whether in the said nation to which he went or in those which he encountered on the way he had seen any Spaniards or Frenchmen engaged in trade, he responded that those whom he had seen were Frenchmen; that they had a fort at Los Caodachos well equipped with powder and balls and other articles of their trade, the commander of the fort being he named Alexi; that the same is the case in the nation of the Cado, a person named Du Pain being head there; and that it is said that from these two villages all the rest of the nations are supplied.

Being asked, finally, whether, from the few demonstrations of these Indians, he thought the peace could be effected, he responded that it is not the intention of these Indians to maintain peace with the Spaniards, but that he presumes, on the contrary, that they will make more active war, because of the dissatisfied state in which they were left at being given nothing of what was taken for this purpose and at having been caused to come so far to this nation; for, notwithstanding the fact that they professed what he has stated above, this does not seem to him to be in keeping with their actions, since otherwise they would have gone to one of the two places suggested, and since they did not do this it is to be presumed that they may do greater damage. This is all that he has to say on the subject. And this his deposition having been read to him *de verbo ad verbum* he says it is correct and he has nothing to add or subtract, since it is the truth, by the oath which he has taken; and he affirmed and ratified it once, twice, thrice, and as many times as by law he may be required, and signed it with me and the assisting witnesses. To this I certify.

JOSPH GONSALEZ [rubric].
RAMON BENERO, *Witness* [rubric].
CHRISTOBAL CARABAJAL [rubric].
ANICETTO VISSENTE CAAMANO, *Witness* [rubric].

[Here follow the depositions of Thoribio de la Fuente, Nepomuceno de la Zerda, soldiers, and Ygnacio Montes, a civilian. The few additions made by them to the foregoing testimony are indicated in a note.[336] An interesting commentary on the soldiery of the Presidio of Los Adaes is the fact that of the six witnesses examined, including the civilian, only one could sign his name, even the sergeant of the company being among those who could not do so. – ED.]

Exhortation sent to the Reverend Father President

Dⁿ Jph. Gonzalez, lieutenant-commander of this presidio, and general of the province in the absence of my governor, the Señor Colonel Dⁿ Juan María, Baron de Ripperda, etc:

To the Very Reverend Father President, Fray Miguel de Santa Maria y Silva, minister *de propaganda fide* of the mission of Sⁿ Migˡ de Cuellar, adjacent to this presidio, I make known that, from the judicial proceedings which I have executed for the purpose of learning the desires of the Indians concerning the treaty which it was attempted to make with them (for which purpose your Reverence went of your ready and spontaneous will, in company with the captain-commandant of the Presidio of S^{n} Juan Baptista de Nachitos, D^{n} Athanacio Mesier, Sergeant Domº Chirinos, four soldiers of this company, and a citizen named Ygnº Montes), it appears that, instead of having achieved the desired purpose with the chiefs of other nations who met at that of the Caudachos, graver insults are to be feared in the future than those which up to the present have been experienced, first, because the Indians failed to make any true sign of peace, as is shown by the very actions of the said De Mesier, through his not having given them any presents from what he carried for this puropse; again, because they are supplied by the French who are established both in the Caudachos nation with all they need in the way of powder, balls, guns, and other articles for which these Indians trade; and [thirdly], because of the reluctance which they showed about coming to this presidio or going to that of San Antonio de Bexar, as was suggested to them, they being promised whatever seemed necessary for the purpose. Because of the foregoing and of the fact that your Reverence, with your mature judgment and with all keenness and sagacity, will have inquired into the state of mind in which those Indians were left, therefore, in the name of His Majesty, may God preserve him, I exhort and require your Reverence, once, twice, and thrice, and in my own name I beg and entreat you, to set forth herebelow[287] what you may have seen with respect to the matters which I have presented, and how, having witnessed them, all the events transpired appear to you, not omitting, prudent Sir, anything else which you may judge worthy of notice, since upon it, considering the gravity of the matter, depends the putting of this province and its presidios in safety, and in order that by means of it and as far as I am able I may give the proper report to my governor as soon as I may see yours.[338] Dated in this Royal Presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes on the thirty-first day of the month of October of this year of seventy. Done before me as receiving judge, for lack of a public or royal notary, there being none in this province, and on this common paper, I not having any other kind.[339] To this I certify.

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[336] Thoribio de la Fuente and Pomusº de la Zerda bring out the point that the Indians "made no other signs of peace than to give the said Señor de Misier he did not remember how many skins of buffalo and deer." It is not clear whether these were given by the chief of the Cadodacho or the other chiefs, but probably the former. It is to be noted, also, that Fray Santa Maria says that the pipe, "the surest sign which these people have for making known peace" was frequently passed. See *Document* 133. For the giving of skins and their symbolism, see *Document* 79.

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[287] The writer means that the reply is to be written on the same paper as that upon which the acts thus far drawn up are written. This was the usual practice in performing *diligencias*.

JOSPH GONSALEZ [rubric].
RAMON BENERO, *Witness* [rubric].
ANICETTO VISSENTE CAAMANO, *Witness* [rubric].

Reply to the foregoing Exhortation

Having seen the foregoing [exhortation] and learned its contents, I have to say that, obedient in all and for all to the royal name of his Majesty, (may God preserve him); and although everything contained in it is true, and more which I reserve in my breast; and having seen all with my eyes with grief to my heart; yet, being as I am, by the grace of God, a religious, and as such, without control of my actions, except with the express permission of my prelate, I am in the matter like a child who, having a mouth, yet his tongue is mute. [Done at] Mission of San Miguel de Cuellar de los Adaes, October thirty-first of this year of seventy, and signed on the same date by my hand.

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[338] This passage is difficult and somewhat ambiguous. *Cada y quando quiera* seems to mean here "as soon as" rather than "each and every time."

[339] The law prescribed a certain grade of *papel sellado*, or paper bearing the government stamp, for each class of official acts. For lack of stamped paper, these *diligencias* were written on unstamped paper.

FRAY MIGUEL STA. MARIA[340] [rubric].

Concluding Order

On the said day of the said month and year, having received the exhortation mentioned, I order this added to the foregoing judicial proceedings and a duplicate and a certified copy of them made, that they may be filed[341] in the archive of this government; and that the duplicate be transmitted to the Señor Governor of La Luisiana, with a letter of transmittal, and the original to the governor of this province, in order that in view of them his Lordship may do whatever he may think best. In testimony of all the foregoing I signed it as above, with my assistants. To this I certify.

JOSPH GONSALEZ [rubric].
RAMON BENERO, *Witness* [rubric].
JOSEPH YGO O NEALE, *Witness* [rubric].

These judicial proceedings comprise ten used folios, counting this one, in testimony of which I sign them.

GONSALEZ [rubric].

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[340] Note that although Santa María wrote his name without the "de," his contemporaries wrote it with the "de."

[341] *Protocolar* would mean to record in the protocol book, or book of notarial acts. Evidently Father Santa María and Lieutenant González wrote to De Mézières their complaints shortly after these proceedings had been enacted, for as early as Dec. 29, 1770, Unzaga y Amezaga wrote to De Mézières as follows: "This is to acknowledge the receipt of the letter in which you enclose the copies of those of Father Fray Miguel de Santa María and Don Joseph Gonzales, and to reply that having noted everything I must say that until the satisfaction which you demand, to secure which I have taken steps, has been made, you must on your part refrain entirely from communication with the presidio [of Los Adaes], or in case it is necessary, reduce it to polite language [*terminos politicos*], not using familiar terms, in order to avoid the impertinences which ordinarily arise when this is practiced with inferior or less educated persons" [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 283]. We have a statement by Bonilla, made in 1772, that Father Santa María found it necessary "to make a sort of apology" to De Mézières ["Breve Compendio," in Texas State Historical Society, *Quarterly*, vol. viii, 64].

71. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES NOVEMBER 18, 1770[342]

I have received three letters from you, two dated the 27th and the other the 26th of September. In the first you report the satisfaction given by the Nabedakios, or San Pedro, Indians, for the murder by them of two Frenchmen and a Spaniard, the satisfaction consisting in the infliction of a like penalty upon the offenders. In the second you repeat that the journey to Cadodachos is necessary, concluding by asking my approval.

To the first my reply is that it is well; and to the second I say the same, provided that the object of the journey is only what you explain and assure me. You will leave the command during the journey, which I suppose will not be long, to Don Joseph de Orieta, to whom I have already written, and whose letters already must have arrived.

To the last letter, in which you advise me of the three deserters named Geronimo Gallardo, Fernando Rodriguez, and Ygnacio Fernandes, who guided Colonel Don Juan Maria Baron de Ripperda, enclosing a copy of the list of expenses caused by the illness of two of them and by supplying the three of them with food in that post, let me say that they have arrived, that I am disposed to provide for paying the bills, and that I shall do so, but not from the goods of the fisc, as you suggest, since the latter are not responsible for the former.

In consequence of this, and of the memorandum of what the fines have produced, I order you to send the amount to this city, as soon as they are collected and the wherewith to pay them is found, since they are already applied to those presidios which you mention. But in the future you must refrain from imposing such penalties, for the king does not wish it, nor is it his sovereign intention to fill his treasury with the blood of his subjects.

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[342] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 77. See *Documents* 49 and 51.

Usually when the prince is forced to impose pecuniary penalties they are applied only to public or pious works, in order not to make his merciful heart appear avaricious or his sacred name odious.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, November 18, 1770.
Señor Don Athanacio de Mezieres.

72. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES
NOVEMBER 29, 1770[343]

I have received the relation, which you send me under date of October 29, of the Caddodachos expedition, its results, and all that you did in order to make them favorable.[344] I am of the opinion that the harangue could not suffice to convince the suspicious Taguayas, Tahuacana, and Pani Piquè nations of the good faith of the peace which you proposed to them, and to which you directed yourself as your principal and sole object.

Moreover, I am of the opinion that neither the occasion nor the time will ever arrive when they will approach us in good faith, on the one hand because of their ferocity, and on the other because our lack of deeds cannot fail to estrange them, for words unaccompanied by acts do not suffice; and to do a thing unskillfully does more harm than good, which I fear is the case at present.

If, later on, you are assured that in the spring they might receive you well and in good faith, and you will give me a statement of your reasons for thinking so, I will decide whether or not it is proper to repeat the expedition. With respect to granting them the flag, I say the same to you, since this favor may not be conferred without strong proofs of fidelity and merit, lest the dignity of our nation be exposed to outrage. With this your other letter, also dated on the third and received on this same occasion, is answered.

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[343] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

[344] On November 19 Unzaga y Amezaga wrote to De Mézières that he had not yet received the report. [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 78.]

You will thank the lieutenant of Los Adaes in my name for having aided you, and in case he needs your assistance you will furnish it, but with the condition that it shall be only what is possible, for care must be taken not to desert your own house in order to protect a stranger's.

May God preserve you many years. New Orleans, November 29, 1770. LUIS DE UNZAGA [rubric].
Señor Don Athanasio de Mezieres.

73. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA NOVEMBER 29, 1770[345]

[No. 2] SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

Sir: I received from the Baron de Ripperda the letter of which a copy follows, and which was my motive for writing the one which immediately follows it:

> MY DEAR SIR: With greatest appreciation and due gratitude I received the esteemed letter with which your well known courtesy and urbanity favors me, concerning my welcome and the good wishes for this government which the charity of the king has deigned to confer upon me. For all of this, as well as for the kind expressions and the favors which with this motive you were pleased to show me, I am duly grateful, just as I am desirous to prove my gratitude in so far as my powers extend, and to have the pleasure of knowing you and having you as neighbor. This, it appears, in spite of me, will be delayed longer than I had expected, because I found this district, so important a part of the province, in the greatest risk of being lost through the very obstinate attacks of the hostile nations, especially the Comanchez;

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[345] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 253.

and, although I have made representations to the most excellent Señor Viceroy and Captain-general of this New Spain concerning various points regarding the correction of this great evil, I have not succeeded in getting any replies. Moreover, after the coming month of August, the experts assure me, one cannot go in, except with very light baggage, until the following February, while it appears that not even the supplies which I have here for my company can be sent, as I had hoped, with cattle and horses, until we have satisfied ourselves of the designs of those nations. For, it seems, they are on the roads to the interior presidios, according to advice from my lieutenant, Don Joseph Gonzales, dated the 25th of the past month and sent by M. Pizeros, and more recently in judicial form under date of the second of the present month, on the basis of the report which you gave him on the same day,[346] whereas from what he reported to me in his communication, I was, a few days before, expecting that the chiefs of the hostile nations would come to me to sue for peace. This peace, I understand, would have been more favorable to me if made at Adaës and mediated by you, who, all assure me, have a great following, and the standing which you merit among the nations. M. Pizeros[347] has gone with these last notices to the most excellent Señor Viceroy, taking advantage of the escort as far as Laredo, which is the dangerous part of the way. Although he will have to make the trip to that point in a hurry, I did not wish to permit any delay; however I have not, on the other hand, been of any aid to him. I have given him a short letter for Mexico stating what he has supplied for Los Adaës; and he has left the enclosed[348] for you, as well as another for the madam his wife, so that she may continue supplying my lieutenant, Gonzales, what is necessary until I am able to aid those soldiers and families. For this I am very grateful to him, as I will be to you for your favor, if I merit it. Now that it may not be furnished directly, as I requested of you in my former letter, please see that my men have what is really necessary, but nothing more; for I do not wish to be excessive in my demands even though my lieutenant may be; however, I do not think this will be the case. Please let me know if I can be of any service to you, for I desire an opportunity to serve you, and that our Lord may spare your life many years. Bexar, July 25, 1770. Your hand is kissed by your most affectionate and faithful servant,

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[346] "The report which I sent to Don Joseph Gonzales was in these terms: that I was informed by the Acinais, Nazones, and Nacogdoches Indians, that the Tuacanas and Yscanis had assembled on the banks of the Colorado (which empties into the Bay of Espiritu Santo and is very different from this on which we are established) for the purpose of awaiting and attacking the men whom they supposed would soon bring the funds and the supplies for Los Adaes, but that by way of Cadodachos I was informed that their design was merely to unite to resist the Comanches or Osages." – Orig.

[347] [M. Piseros] is the inhabitant and merchant of this place who went with a passport from the superior government to Mexico to collect the money owed him by the governors, captains, and missionary fathers of the province of Los Texas. – Orig.

[348] The enclosure referred to is not with the letter.

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA.

MY DEAR SIR: I have just returned from Cadodachos where, pursuant to my superior orders, I have treated with the chiefs of the hostile nations who had gathered there for that purpose, as I had the honor to report to your Lordship in my former letter; and it being my duty to report to you now the successful outcome of my journey, I think of no better way of doing so than to send to you the official communication regarding this same matter which I have directed to my chief.[249] May God spare the life of your Lordship as many happy years as he is able and as I desire. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, October 24, 1770. The hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most faithful and humble servant. ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES.

May God spare the important life of your Lordship many years. Natchitoches, Nov. 29, 1770.

Señor Captain-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Captain-general Don Luiz de Unzaga.

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[249] The copy of the *informe* here referred to is the one from which *Document* 69 is printed.

III. TREATIES OF PEACE WITH THE NATIONS OF THE NORTH; PROPOSALS CONCERNING TRADE AND ANOTHER EXPEDITION, 1771-1772

74. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
FEBRUARY 28, 1771 [330]

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: Reverend Father Estanislao has arrived here, and I have not only communicated to him your Lordship's order, which I so greatly appreciate, respecting the way in which I am to deal with his Reverence, but also have told him, with great urbanity and yet forcibly, that it is necessary that he remain here to attend to the general ministration to his parishioners, and he has consented in spite of the order given him by his superior, the Very Reverend Father Dagobertto, that he should go to live at the Acadian coast. This has greatly pleased the citizens here, and I am reporting their pleasure in the name of all, to the end that so Christian a protector may deign to continue his favor.

Work on the building of the new church is going on as rapidly as possible, and we promise ourselves that we shall complete it in time to hold next Easter services in it, according to your Lordship's wish. I shall lay a stone which I have had hewn and on which are the following words: [331]

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[330] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 85.

[331] The movement to have the church rebuilt was begun by De Mézières and Father Stanislaus, as is shown by the following letter from De Mézières to Unzaga y Amezaga, dated Feb. 1, 1770:

"In agreement with the very reverend father curate, Fray Stanislás, I re-

D. O. M. Lapis isce, in fundamentis sacro-sanctae Ajustae Ecclesiae, Jussû et vice Yllustrissimi domini, Ludovici de Vnzâga, in hâc provincia pro Catolica Majestate imperitantis, rite, solemniterque depositus ob aeternam ad nepotes rei memoriam. anno salutis mdcclxxi.[351a]

Without doubt Francisco Morvant will appear before

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ported to the most excellent Señor Captain-general the bad state of the parochial church of this post, due to the effects of the weather. In consequence of this his Excellency ordered me to see and consult with the citizens, calling on each one according to his ability, regarding the building of another church, this being one of the first duties of Christians. To this they have agreed, and some with such zeal and efficacy, notwithstanding the poverty of the place, that already the alms reach the sum of seven hundred dollars [*pesos fuertes*]. And I have no doubt, if God wills it that there be a good harvest this year, that the sums will be increased to fifteen hundred dollars. With this capital and the abundance of stone here, both for making lime and for the walls, it appears that we shall have sufficient for a very decent building, to which I am devoting my greatest care, in order that it be undertaken and finished as soon as possible. Therefore I beg your Lordship to please consent that I may have the honor to place the first stone of the foundations of this holy church in your illustrious name, a favor for which all of us here will be sincerely and duly thankful" [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110, no. 189].

In a communication to Father Stanislaus dated January 17, 1770, O'Reilly wrote: "I have examined with attention the papers which you sent to M. Nugeant, representing the inability of the inhabitants of Natchitoches to build a church or to repair suitably the one which they have, and demanding an outlet for their tobacco to every district of Mexico." For this suggestion O'Reilly reprimanded the curate, saying that he was stepping outside of his priestly province. In a communication to De Mézières, evidently of the same date, in which a copy of the letter to Father Stanislaus was enclosed, O'Reilly says: "You will have made to the church all the repairs necessary and possible to the inhabitants, in conformity with my instruction. I hope that your curate will not mix, in the future, in matters which solely concern the secular authorities. Show him all the regard due his ministry, but without giving him any other influence in the government" [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, nos. 1 and 2].

Writing on Nov. 19, 1770, of Bartolomé Charbonet, with whom he had had some difficulty, De Mézières said: "In the assembly which I called for the rebuilding of the church, at their common cost, he was present among the notables, signing his name to the agreement which they made with one accord" [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 69].

[351a] Translation: "To God best and greatest. In the year of salvation 1771, this stone was laid in the foundations of the holy and venerable church in due order and solemnity by command and in the name of Don Luis de Unzaga, ruling in this province in behalf of his Catholic Majesty, for the eternal memory of the event with posterity."

that superior and merciful tribunal to receive the signal mercy and the unexpected pardon promised him.

My method has always been and is to serve and please all without distinction as to friends or allies. On this principle I last year offered a place to M. Fazende, whom your Lordship mentions to me, but he did not accept it, as he hoped for another, which has been bestowed upon the sub-lieutenant of militia. This coming spring M. Fazende will have what he desires; meanwhile I have not neglected to succor and aid his sister, so far as I have been able, being required so to do by natural compassion and by virtue of the alliance which I have contracted with that lady.[382]

I am more grieved than I can express that, with strange abuse of your Lordship's attention, the most unworthy charges should be raised up on all sides, I being accused of what is so repugnant to my nature and character. I have just experienced this in the complaints which, guided by their evil inclination, caprice, and ingratitude, were recently made by the father of Los Adays, Fray Miguel de Santa Maria, and the lieutenant, Don Joseph Gonzales.[383] And from what, in reality, do they proceed, if not from the fact that canoes do not come here from that capital, unless it be that a rumor has got out of the complaints which your Lordship is making on my account, a reason why the persecutions will never be quieted, because such rumors give rise to calumny. This condition is so unfortunate that I cannot dissimulate it from my chief, who, I hope, from his high comprehension and magnanimity, will not take ill the account of my labors, sole relief which an unfortunate finds in bearing them.

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[382] This lady was Dame Pelagie Fazende, second wife of De Mézières. Fazende was made trader to the Cadodachos this year, which probably is the occupation referred to as being "what he desires."

[383] Reference is made here to the charges made against De Mézières in connection with his conference at Cadodachos the fall before. See *Documents* 70 and 105.

I have the honor humbly to report to your Lordship that when the most excellent Señor Don Alexandro was pleased to confer on me, so without merit on my part, the command of this place, and likewise on my sons the position of cadets, I simply and truthfully explained to his Excellency that my small means, which are becoming less with the sale of my plantation and slaves for the purpose of satisfying my creditors, would not permit me to support them in that town, and he permitted me to keep them with me. I at once concluded that since they did not perform service like the rest they should not receive pay. But I now humbly beg your Lordship to permit me to leave it in the royal treasury, with the assurance that my sons in question will aid me so far as they can and as I may order them. I protest that I should [not] take advantage of this recourse now if the expensive and necessary repairing of this fort and of all the houses belonging to his Majesty, which I have put in very good condition and to which I have contributed with my own salary, (though I have no right to object to this because I have proceeded of my own pure volition) did not move me to do so.

Regarding the good intentions of the Indians in the matter of the peace which in your name I offered them, I rely on the true report on this subject which I directed to your Lordship; on the reports which come to me from San Antonio de Bexar of the marked quiet which has been enjoyed there during the past few months; on that which likewise I receive from Cadodachos concerning the perseverance of these Indians in their decision; on my experience; on what human wisdom might conjecture; and finally, on my plan to improve my time (it not being my intention to remain forever in these Indies) by dedicating myself to the service of the renowned monarch who has so greatly honored me, and of the nation to which I have always been attached, and by making myself worthy, in spite of the machinations of my rivals, of the esteem of your Lordship, which I so greatly prize and which I put before all else. Therefore I am ready to march, if your Lordship so orders me to do, the time which I designated for this purpose being close at hand. And I may note that if I do not go they will regard as fraud and deceit what I proposed to them in my former mission; and then beware, for then what your Lordship tells me will prove true, namely, that instead of improving matters, they will be made worse, for when confidence, which I may flatter myself on having established, is dispelled, then arises suspicion, mother of treason and irremediable disasters.

Juan Pizeros, member of the merchant body of this post, has recently returned from Mexico, where, through the great favor of your Lordship, he very successfully concluded his business.

Both of the two wine sellers having given up their privileges and no others wishing to replace them, the services of the two alguaciles cease with the tax of eighty pesos which was assigned for their salary. This causes a notable deficiency for the maintenance of good order in this post.

I have deposited in the house of M. Roujot and in his care a portion of the azumbre[354] of bear's fat and the deerskins with which, by virtue of the arrangement which was made through lack of tomines,[355] they have paid what they owed to the royal treasury; and since these effects may deteriorate and spoil, I advise your Lordship so that you may order me what may be your pleasure.

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[354] For the meaning of this word see page 191.

[355] In some parts of Spanish America *tomin* was used for *real*.

May God our Lord guard and prosper the important life of your Lordship the many years which I desire. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, February 28, 1771.

Señor Captain-general, your hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

75. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
MARCH 14, 1771 [356]

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: I am sending my negroes according to the arrangement which I made and had the honor to report to your Lordship. I am grateful for the permission which you deigned to grant me, but I shall defer taking advantage of it[357] until I return from the expedition to the nations, since this is more urgent, for the winter which I designated to them is now approaching. Concerning this matter there is nothing to add to what I have said to your Lordship in my former letters, except that only through mischance could there be failure to succeed with the projects which are dedicated solely to the interest of God, the king, and his vassals, and to the unquestionable happiness of the enemy themselves, especially when to such powerful and loyal motives there is added the desire of the agent to be regarded as the instrument, though so weak, which shall have coöperated with the high designs always kept in view by the illustrious chief for the good and quietude of the government under his care.

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[356] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 87.

[357] What is referred to here is not clear from the available documents. He may have asked for permission to descend to New Orleans.

I again beg your Lordship to make whatever arrangement may best please you regarding my noteworthy lack of the two alguaciles, through the resignation of their privileges by the two wine sellers[358] who paid them their salaries. They have ceased to perform their functions, and there have been renewed with great force now illicit sale of beverages to the negroes and Indians, a cause of very serious consequences, and now the barter of horses and clothing which at all hours of every day the soldiers of Los Adaës secretly conduct. In regard to this the complaints of their commander are raining upon me, while there is no remedy for it; for what is authority unsupported by force? Only if I were endowed with as many eyes as it is claimed Argo had, and with a hundred arms, like Briareo, could I watch and suppress these abuses.

I am completing the padrón (Latin census, or denomination) of these inhabitants, and shall send it to your Lordship at the first opportunity, together with a map of this post, another comprising the entire jurisdiction, another of the Colorado River from its disemboguement in the San Luiz up to El Rapide, and finally, another of the same Colorado River and other streams which flow into it or rise in its neighborhood, from El Rapide to the country of the Taoüaiazes, with historical and political notes concerning said post, its commerce, agriculture, natural advantages, villages of Indians, etc. And I hope that your Lordship will be impressed with the fidelity of my statement relative to the need in this command of some men to aid him who is in charge of it. If your Lordship should decide to give this aid, I should be glad to have the small number of Creoles thought necessary recruited here, for, besides their being equally at home on foot and on horseback, their pay will be a great godsend to their poor parents, while there need be no fear from them of the detestable and harmful vice of drunkenness.

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[358] *Taberneros*: this rendering of the word, which is also used to mean tavern-keepers, is borne out by the context of other documents in the collection. For example, on August 21, 1770, De Mézières wrote to O'Reilly: "Sir, notwithstanding the order of your Excellency to the effect that only the two *taberneros* which have been established here should have authority to sell at retail wine, aguardiente, and [other] strong drinks, these two *taberneros* have complained and continue to complain to me that several merchants of this place sell these beverages in the same way" [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no 64].

The trade of San Luiz de Cadodachos is to be this year in charge of Don Matthias de Court, a retired officer, welcome to and conversant with the Indians, of small means and large family. Don Antonio is to furnish him the necessary goods, and as the latter is a creditor of the former, both of them will be relieved, while I shall have the advantage of contributing to their satisfaction.

M. Fazende will reside in the village of the Cadot, and M. Borme, without change, in that of the Yatassi, each person being thus assisted, according to his merits, in securing the just and legitimate advantages afforded by this district; as for myself, I hope for no other advantage than the very enviable one of being able to please all, and to conform with the words of your Lordship in your appreciated favor of September 21, last, namely:

> I should be very happy to learn that the subjects are zealous and observant of due respect and veneration for their chief through love and not through fear; this is the way to make honest citizens.

Again, in another of November 29:

> The chief must exert himself greatly to the end that all his subjects may live contented, very especially those needed as heads and leaders of the district; with these it is necessary to live in entire harmony and to temporize as far as possible.

These words have deeply weighed upon my breast, as such words should with every man who is ruling others.

May God extend and prosper the important life of your Lordship many years. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, March 14, 1771.

Señor Captain-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN$^{\text{IO}}$ DE MEZIERES [rubric].

76. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA, CIRCA MARCH 14, 1771[359]

In case I make an expedition to the Indians, which I am recommending to the Señor Commandant-general, I earnestly beg your Lordship to order sent to me a flag (a small colored pennant, such as are used by his Majesty's vessels) to be carried by the tribes to San Antonio de Vexar, a leaden passport, and a letter for the Señor Baron de Ripperda. ATHAN$^{\text{IO}}$ DE MEZIERES [rubric].

77. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA MARCH 20, 1771[360]

[No. 4] SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

Sir: I am not so pusillanimous and fickle as, when scarcely entered upon the honorable office conferred upon me by the condescension of two illustrious chiefs, to wish unseasonably to renounce it.[361] This would be possible under no pretext without injury to my reputation, and especially now since there are rumors of wars. On the contrary, I promise honorably to serve the king and the nation. And if I say that my principal aim is to fulfill my obligation and make myself worthy of the enviable protection and aid of your Lordship, it is because I have been not a little depressed by the lamentable rumors very much to the contrary which have spread abroad. But, striving with more resolution than before, and taking advantage of your Lordship's wise counsel, I trust in that divine help which can never fail one with good intentions.

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[359] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 88.

[360] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 93.

[361] The allusion is to the rumors that he was going to resign, on account of difficulties and of having been criticised.

Let me inform your Lordship that it will be necessary to send a courier to the nations of the Tuacanas, Taöuaiazes or Panis Piques, and others formerly hostile, in order not only that they may know that we have not forgotten the favors which we have promised them (which is so important to keep them quiet), but also that, learning with certainty their frame of mind, which I have no doubt will be what they have manifested to me, I may, upon receipt of the report made to me and of your Lordship's orders, which alone I await, conclude the peace-agreements in the presence of the Señor Baron de Ripperda. Accordingly, I refer again to my former communications relative to the matter of the very necessary equipment in way of flag, passport, and letters, which I have asked from your Lordship.

I hope that I may merit from your Lordship the favor that you may feel assured that in all I do and shall do I do not forget that I have the honor of being subordinate to an illustrious chief, and even to represent him. For this reason I shall never engage in vain or ridiculous projects which might offend him or defeat the desired end, which, with divine help, I firmly hope to achieve in the enterprise of the treaties mentioned, not to mention another advantage greatly to be esteemed, but which I leave in silence until my return, when, if my plans do not turn out ill, it may be made palpable and indubitable.

I have received a letter from my sister, Margarita de Montessons, in which she encloses another, from the most excellent Señor Marqués de Grimaldi, directed to herself. In it his Excellency deigns to mention the letters in which he has already strongly recommended me (such are his words) and again recommends me, to the Señor Governor-general of this Louisiana. In return for such great courtesy on his Excellency's part I have the honor to report to him the many favors which I owe to your Lordship, and which to me are the strongest motive for making myself more and more meritorious of them by fulfilling my duty to the utmost.

May our Lord guard, extend, and prosper the important life of your Lordship the many years which I ask him. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, March 20, 1771.

Señor Captain-general, the hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

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78. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES[362] APRIL 6, 1771[363]

I am pleased with the warm welcome which you gave Father Estanislao, curate of that post, and at his satisfaction with it, as you tell me in your letter of February 28.

I am also pleased with your report of the building of that church, and thank you for the honor shown me by the inscription on the stone.

Illfounded rumors never cause fear to the heart of a man of honor, who should have for the object of his actions the public welfare and the best service of the king. There is no other remedy for them but to despise them and to benefit one's subjects as much as possible. Neither is there power to recall vague rumors.

The coming of the cadets, your sons, to enter the service and to become soldiers cannot be regarded as having any other purpose than the good of the service itself, to whose aid we all should come; but thereby they receive a benefit such as they need and as others would desire.

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[362] Reply to *Document* 74.

[363] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 86.

Boys under the protection of their parents and not subject to the discipline and rigor of the army become effeminate and useless for military service. If you devote them to this career, I know of no other recourse than that they should come to continue it here, and I await the decision in order that I may act.

The most excellent Señor Don Alexandro O Reylly might very well have left them attached to that post, but it need not be inferred that this attachment must last throughout your command there. He could very well have had a reason at that time for making the arrangement, and I a different one now for detaching them. Every day the soldiers go from one place to another, and every minute garrisons are moved from one post to another, even when it is not necessary, and with no other purpose than to harden the soldier and inure him to campaigns and make him useful in war.

Regarding the journey to the Indians, since you do not state the reasons why you think it likely to succeed, as I requested of you in my former letter, I dare not permit it at present; but since you have informed me that peace with them is of great importance to the Spanish presidios of Adaes, etc., I will consult with the Baron de Ripperda concerning the matter, and in the light of his opinion suitable measures will be provided.

There being no public funds [*proprios*] in that post from which to pay the algauciles, you may provide that services performed be charged to the interested party.

The bear's fat and skins in which you say some debts due the fisc were paid because of a lack of money, you will send on the first safe occasion to this capital, with a clear statement of the origin of the debts and of the amount for which the bear's fat and skins have been received. God, etc., New Orleans, April 6, 1771.

Postscript. It is well that M. Dartigo should remain in that post until he conveniently finishes his business, for if his time is limited, as you inform me, he will be done a great injury. But this [delay] must not be so long that [illegible] and fail in his obligations here. Dated as above.

79. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA
JULY 3, 1771 [864]

SEÑOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL — SIR: The cacique of the Acinais,[865] who, because of his well known loyalty and of the authority which he exercises over the neighboring pueblos, has been decorated with one of the five medals of his Majesty which were delivered to me by your most excellent predecessor to recompense our friends, has met in this fort with the most Reverend Father President and visitor, Fray Pedro Ramirez, who has just arrived from Mexico to perform the task entrusted to him by the most excellent Señor Viceroy, and with the commander of Los Adaes, Don Joseph Gonzales. The principal personages having gathered to receive the cacique, it has been learned, with the satisfaction which no doubt will be felt by your Lordship, that he came expressly deputed by the enemies to secure and make solid the peace-agreements which were offered them in October, as is shown by the official communication dated the twenty-second of that month and directed by me to your Lordship. Those poor people, lacking the art used by civilized people of instructing their agents, have laboriously supplied it by a skin in which the number of the nations is represented by that of the crosses, the cross [being known to be] held as an object of greatest veneration among us. The nations are the Quitseÿs, Yscanis, Tuacanas, Tancaoüeys, Taouaïares, or Panis Piques. This skin, which has the force of a contract, was sent immediately with a duplicate of this official communication to the Señor Baron de Ripperda, who, being so much interested in the peace of that province, will regard it with great satisfaction.

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[864] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 84.

[865] Bigotes, or Sauto.

In view of the good intention of those nations, and in order that they might have evidence that their decision is welcomed by the captains-general of both Louisiana and Texas, I decided to send them an embassy. For this purpose Monsieur le Blanc de Villeneufve[286] zealously volunteered, and went at his own expense, to the great satisfaction of the cacique, who was highly pleased by his generosity, discourse, and dealings. [With him went] Reverend Father Fray Francisco Zedano, a Frenchman versed in the languages, two Spaniards, the said cacique, and a considerable following of friendly Indians. They bear special instructions to request the enemies to desist from their fears and to invite their chiefs to come here, where they will be entertained and regaled by me, and where everything possible will be done to persuade them to go at once to Bexar. With this in view they will be told how important it is that the peace-agreements which they hope for be ratified by the Señor Baron de Ripperda.

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[286] Cesaire le Blanc, or de Blanc, was apparently the nephew of De Mézières. St. Denis's successor to the command of the post of Natchitoches in 1744 was Cesaire de Blanc, who on June 9, 1750, married Marie des Doleurs de St. Denis, daughter of St. Denis the elder. He was a native of Marseilles, and the son of Charles de Blanc, captain of a regiment of Champagne, and Dame Marguerite Despagnet. He died in 1763, and was buried on the ninth of April by Fray Ignacio Laba, of the Texas missions, in default of a curate at Natchitoches [Church records of the parish of Natchitoches].

Besides the deputation of the cacique of the Acinais, day before yesterday couriers came to me from the Tuacanas with the news that those Indians had come to the same decision and were making the same petition.

And Don Mathias le Court, a retired officer now residing in Cadodachos, also sends me the report of the arrival at that village of the cacique of the Taouaïazés, who not only protested that in the future he wished to maintain harmony with the Spaniards, but offered to attack any of the other tribes who might disturb it; in pledge of his promise he left two hostages until he returns from seeing me, which will be in the autumn.

The Comanchés, or Naytanés, are at present at war with all the foregoing. Their transit to San Antonio de Bexar being for this reason cut off, and they now being unarmed, or better, with only the bow and arrow, it seems difficult for them to commit the robberies and perfidies which formerly they were in the habit of doing, with different munitions, especially when they know that on their return they cannot escape the vigilance of their enemies, if perchance they should escape them during their entry. But as the Señor Baron de Ripperda insists that it is very important that a like peace be established with the Comanche, I will do what I can to bring it about.

Such, then, is the actual state of the Indians. Of what may [result] from the deputation sent by me to their pueblos and of the concourse which their caciques may hold here, I will report to your Lordship.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship many happy years. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, July 3, 1771.

Señor Governor-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Governor-general of la Luisiana.

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80. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA

JULY 3, 1771 [287]

SIR: Herewith follows a copy of the letter which, under date of April 23, last, the Señor Baron de Ripperda does me the honor of writing me:

> MY DEAR SIR AND MASTER: I wrote you by the courier from the most excellent Señor Viceroy of this New Spain to the Señor Governor-general of that province, and now I am sending a letter by the Rev. Father President Fray Pedro Ramires, who is going in to visit those missions. For this reason I have asked him to take charge of the delivery of the supplies which I am sending; and I am so bold as to molest you by asking you to receive him in your house, for this father assures that in Los Adaës there is no place where he can stay so much to his satisfaction. From there the Father will distribute all that he may think proper, you being so good as to retain the remainder, and not to distribute it to the soldiers except in the way which the Father shall have arranged, for at the present time they owe me a great deal and pay no attention to requests.
>
> I should be grateful if you would send me the list, which you tell me you failed to send by the soldiers on account of the hurry in which they left, showing the debts owed by the soldiers of Los Adaes to the inhabitants there, for, although many have not the wherewith to pay, and many of the debts are for the [illegible] of brandy, it is only just that in the best way possible they be paid when they are verified [illegible] which [illegible] in Los Adaes; in which I [illegible] achieving the honor [illegible] like [illegible] of you and your family, with my wife, who likewise would like it, but God has been pleased to interfere with this plan in many ways. Finally I wish to acknowledge the letter which you sent me on the same occasion, [with] a copy of the official communication which you had sent to the Señor Governor-general of

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[287] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 105a.

that province. I reported to the most excellent Señor Viceroy concerning the matter; and I have been greatly pleased to note the means which you took to secure the treaty with the chiefs who met there, and that although they did not agree to come to make peace with me here, nor to go to Los Adaës, they at least showed themselves disposed to return later to treat with you of said peace, and to go to live near San Pedro, not coming to make incursions in this district. I assure you that I would esteem nothing else you could do so much, and I think that by nothing else could you so greatly serve both majesties as by effecting peace for us with those nations and the Comanchés; and I hope that you will lack nothing necessary to effect it.

This year the Indians have begun very early to trouble us. They have been recognized as the Tancagué, Jaraname, and Biday tribes, mixed with some others, their allies, and it appears now that the Comanchéz have begun to come. This keeps these troops in constant motion. Three of our soldiers have just at this writing been killed by them, but half of the horses they stole were recovered, [and one] who appeared to be captain was killed, who [illegible] contrary. Finally, I look to you for the tranquillity of this province.

I greatly desire an opportunity to favor you, and hope that God may guard your life as many years as possible. . .

In view of the foregoing, of my official communication number 1 of this same date referring to the deputation from the cacique of the Acinays, of the couriers who have come from the Tuacanas, and of the journey of the Tavaïazés Indians to the village of Cadodachos, I beg your Lordship to please permit me to fulfill the promise which I made to those nations to go to visit them, because, my way having been blocked by your Lordship's decision to consult with the governor of Texas whether it was convenient or not, and it being necessary for me to wait for an answer from that gentleman to adjust to his opinion that which appears [illegible] in an invisible [illegible] pledged to those natives my sincere [illegible] and fail in it, puts me in danger [illegible] their material and suspicious understandings, they will impute it to different ideas on our part, very contrary to their welfare. Finally I have no other interest than that of his majesty, the welfare and peace of my fellow citizens, the docility and submission of the natives, and the success and luster of your Lordship's happy government.

May God preserve and prosper the important life of your Lordship the many years which I ask. Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, July 3, 1771.

Señor Governor-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble servant,

ATHANIO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Governor-general of la Luisiana.

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81. UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA TO DE MEZIERES OCTOBER 4, 1771 [388]

Not forgetting that among the benefits which you have informed me were resulting to the citizens of this province from the peace which you effected with the savages, one is the free extension through this means, by the commercial body, of trade beyond the nations with whom it was formerly conducted, and in consequence the royal name of his Catholic Majesty, I desire that if you have confidence in this peace, you shall furnish the traders the necessary passports,[389] that they may go to these nations recently become friends, charging them with the good conduct which they should observe toward them, and the good faith they ought to keep with them.

I enclose the adjoining despatch to the end that you may remit the funds produced by the sale of the property of the surgeon Juan Bonefont, as you have informed me, in order that they may be deposited in the hands of the depository general, where they should await the disposition of his heirs in case he has any.

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[388] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 94.

[389] This document, apparently, was the authority on which De Mézières proceeded to establish traders in the villages of the new allies. See "Introduction," page 95.

God etc. New Orleans, October 4, 1771.

Señor Don Atanazio Demeziere.

82. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO DE MEZIERES OCTOBER 7, 1771 [370]

SEÑOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NATCHITOCHES: I am writing to you, although in haste, by our head chief called Sauto, to give you the sincerest thanks both for the attentive and instructive letters with which you were pleased to favor me, in which you reported everything to me, and which I will answer on the first opportunity, as well as for the peace-agreements which in that post and the presidio of Los Adaës were effected with such dexterity. To this end the said head chief came with forty-odd persons of his tribe in company with the Reverend Father Pedro Ramires and Father Francisco Zedano, who likewise have labored so hard and with such pains that they merit the greatest consideration.

The head chief has been here with his people and four Bidais who joined him on the way. Among them is a so-called Christobal, of no prepossessing mien, and Gorgoritos,[371] alias Melchor, whom, upon report of the head chief (for all those whom in the future I shall name, of whatever nation it be, must be recommended by him), I have named captain of his nation, the Bidais; but the first [Sauto] has been named head chief of all the nations known in these parts, as you will see by the title which I have given him, it being done with all the solemnity possible. I trust, from your zeal and activity, that you will take advantage of every opportunity to make more and more secure the treaties with the nations who assembled, and to effect them with those who have not yet granted them. I wish that the rest of the nations had come, but the head chief says he has come as their representative, and persists in saying that they will come in good time, which they must do by sending a few ahead with the royal banner.

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[370] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-2, no. 96.

[371] See *Document* 84.

El Baron de Ripperda

[Facsimile of the signature of the Baron de Ripperda]

Be assured of the grateful affection with which I am very anxious to serve you, as I ask God to preserve your life the many years which I desire. San Antonio de Bexar, October 7, 1771.

Your hand is kissed by your most affectionate servant and faithful friend, EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

83. TREATY WITH THE TAOVAYAS
OCTOBER 27, 1771 [372]

Articles of Peace granted to the Taouaïazés Indians, they being also mediators for the Comanché Tribe, their allies

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, here follow the capitulations entered into with the Taouaïazés chiefs, they having met for this purpose in the Royal Fort of San Juan Bautista de Natchitoches on the 27th day of October, 1771 and being also mediators for the Comanchés. Done in the presence of the great Cacique of Cadodachos, Tin-hi-öuen,[373] who guided and accompanied the Taouaïazés chiefs.

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[372] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51.

[373] It was Tinhioüen who was chief spokesman in favor of the treaties at Cadodachos in 1770.

STIPULATIONS	RESPONSES
1st. That from this day henceforth they shall cease their incursions and their attacks upon all of the presidios of his Majesty, his subjects, and property of whatever kind.	1st. It is answered that they came for no other purpose [than to promise this]; that they have considered it well; that it is in order to give assurance of this by word of mouth that they have come from such remote lands; that their intentions are good and will endure.
2nd. That in order to obviate evil consequences, when they may have occasion to approach San Antonio de Bexar because of their wars with the Apachés, they shall not pass inland beyond the said presidio without going to it to give notice of their intentions, being assured that they will be entertained and well treated.	2nd. It is answered that they will comply, and that they rejoice at this provision.
3rd. That they shall try to prevent other tribes, their allies, especially the Comanchés, from committing hostilities as they formerly have done; and that if they do not comply, the Taouaïazés shall suspend all communication and intercourse with them and consider them as enemies.	3rd. It is answered in the affirmative, but added that the Comanchés will not take up arms; that they have already gone to New Mexico, where treaties have been granted them, for which they are grateful and which they will try to keep always; and that it is for this purpose that they have taken advantage of their mediation.
4th. That if any one, guided by bad inclination, disobedience to the chiefs, and insolence, shall commit murders or thefts, he shall pay with his life, so that the tribe may not be considered accomplices.	4th. It is answered that this is satisfactory, and that, if such a thing should happen, they will bring the head of the malefactor, as a proof that the offense has been avenged.
5th. That they shall restore the two pieces of artillery that	5th. It is answered that whenever they may be sent for they

were left in the former expedition.[374]	will be returned at once and with pleasure.
6th. That in case there are any Christian captives[375] in their villages, they shall be set at liberty.	6th. It is answered that there are none in their village[s] but that they will speak to the Comanches, who may have some among them, so that they may be freed.
7th. That all shall acknowledge themselves subjects of his Catholic Majesty (may God preserve him), under whose mild rule this province of Luisiana has fallen, just as formerly they were subjects of his most Christian Majesty.	7th. It is unanimously answered in the affirmative.
8th. That if his Majesty should consider it advisable to establish presidios in their territories, they shall not oppose, but, rather, shall aid and succor the presidials, receiving pay for such assistance.	8th. It is answered that this proposal pleases them greatly, and that they hope they will go as soon as possible.
9th. That, as a pledge of their word, sometime during the winter they shall go, together with the Comanchés, to Bexar, to see the governor-general of the province, to which end they shall carry the royal flag that will be given them, and also my letters, and shall be received as friends.	9th. It is replied that they will do so, in company with the Comanchéz.
10th. That they shall never allow the Indians of our missions to enter their villages; and, that if they should enter them, they shall be sent back to their own people.	10th. It is answered in the affirmative.
11th. That as visible evidence	11th. It was answered in the

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[374] The cannon left by Parrilla in 1759.

[375] For an example of white captives among the Indian tribes, see page 216.

of the reliability of their word, the war hatchet shall at once be buried by their hands in sight of the whole village, and that he who again uses it shall die.	affirmative, and they went and buried it.

+ + + Crosses, which the Taouaiazés chiefs made instead of signing.

+ + Crosses which the Cacique of the Cadodachos made instead of signing.

Notables present: Athanacio de Mezieres, Josef Gonzalez, Remigio Poisot, Antonio Charbonet, LeMeé, Roujot, Rambin, LaBerry, Pedro Besson, DuBois, Facende Moriere, De Lassige, De Lissard Jouhannis, Marcolay, LeBlanc, Juan Josef Pacheco [rubrics].

In virtue of the capitulations contained on the preceding folio, we, Don Athanazio de Mezieres, captain of infantry and lieutenant-governor of the District of Natchitoches, and Don Josef Gonzalez, lieutenant of cavalry and commandant of the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, representing, on the one hand, the Señor Colonel Don Luiz de Unzaga y Amezagá, governor-general of the Province of Luiziana, etc., and, on the other, the Señor Colonel Don Juan María Baron de Ripperda, governor and captain-general of the Province of the New Philippines, etc., certify that we have granted the tribes of the Taouvaïaz and the Comanchés the treaties which they have come to seek, after having assured ourselves, in so far as it has been possible, of the sincerity of their good professions. This we certify, in the royal fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, October 28, 1771.

Notables present: Athanacio de Mezieres, Josef Gonzales, Poisot, LeMeé, Fazende Moriere, Rambin, Marcolay, La Berry, Ant^o^ Charbonet, Roujot, De Lassige, J^n^ Josef Pacheco, Dubois, Le Blanc [rubrics].

Compared with the original, which is deposited in the archives of this fort, to which I certify.

Natchitoches, March 10, 1772.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

I, the Baron de Ripperda, colonel of cavalry and governor and commandant-general of this province of Texas, New Philippines, etc., certify that, there having entered this royal presidio on the seventh day of the present month five Indians of the Taouayas nation, bearing a Spanish flag with the Cross of Borgoña [Burgundy], among them being two chiefs, he who was leader, named Quirotaches, ratified, on this the said date, the preceding capitulations, each one separately, after they had been well explained through one of the said Indians, named Jacob, who knows the French language. All of this was done in my presence and witnessed by the captain of this presidio, Don Luis Antonio Menchaca, and that of El Orcoquiza, Don Rafael Pacheco, the Indians performing the ceremonies customary in these cases, that of burying the war hatchet and receiving their presents.

San Antonio de Bexar, April 27, 1772.

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].
LUIS ANT^{O} MENCHACA [rubric].
RAFAEL MARZ. PACHECO [rubric].

84. DECLARATION OF GORGORITOS, BIDAI CHIEF DECEMBER 21, 1770[376]

Fort of San Juan Baptista de Natchitoches, Dec. 21, 1770.

I, Don Melchor, otherwise called Gorgoritos, chief of all the bands of the Biday nation, certify that on my return from San Antonio de Bexar, whither I went with other nations, led by the great cacique Sauto, for the purpose of seeing ratified by the governor-general of the province of Tejas the general peace-agreements which were granted to the Nations of the North, I met the chiefs of the Apaches, who sought to make peace with us, protesting their good intentions; that they would never commit any depredations whatever to the injury of the Spaniards or of the Indians; that I should so inform the chiefs of Los Adaës and Natchitoches, in order that they might have mercy on them and not deny them the common benefit now enjoyed by all those formerly enemies, and that they should not be caused the deep shame of having their petition rejected; and that if it should be granted they would come in person, and this soon, to the said presidios of Los Adaës and Natchitoches to manifest their desires and dispositions by word of mouth. Having fulfilled this mission, with pleasure proportionate to the benefit which I expect, both of the said chiefs have answered that it is well; that the invincible and merciful king of Spain never denies peace to Indians who are truly repentant; and that therefore I may notify the Apachés, which I promise to do, that if they come they will be received and will accomplish their desire.

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[376] Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 188-1, no. 83.

I also testify that, having been charged by the said chiefs of Los Adaes and Natchitoches to prevent the Carancaoueys, Coxos, etc. who live near the sea from doing any more damage to the life or to the property of whites who may have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast, causing them, instead, to rescue, treat humanely, entertain, and take them to Christian settlements, with especial promise that their services shall be remunerated, I have pledged my word and I now agree to utilize the maritime nations, my allies,[377] to achieve so good a purpose, as well as that of delivering all the Indians, fugitives from the missions of La Bahya del Espiritu Santo or Bexar, or any other, who may now or in future be found in the bands of my command. And in testimony of the truth I made a cross, in the presence of the said commandants of Natchitoches and Adaes, the interpreter, and other principal personages. Long live the Catholic king of Spain.

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[377] This passage is evidence of a very close relationship between the Bidai-Arkokisa group and the Karankawan tribes on the coast.

X, Cross which, in place of signature, was made by the chief of the Bidays.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES.

X, Cross made by another chief of the Bidays.

LE BLANC DE VILLE NEUFVE.
JOSEPH GONSALE[S], *Witness.*
NICOLAS DELASSIZE, *Witness.*

X, Cross which instead of signature was made by the interpreter Francisco de Salas Gomez.

85. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA, DECEMBER 31, 1771 [378]

MY DEAR LORD AND MASTER: The lack of facilities for sending messages to that province, the customary turmoil,[379] and the incredible labor which this unhappy position imposes upon me, have kept me from replying to your Lordship's letters, which I received with the greatest pleasure, including one recently brought by M. Menard, who goes to Mexico to attempt to collect his debts. With respect to those debts which he tells me he has to collect from my soldiers, I will try to enable him to do it, as your Lordship suggests, for I desire to please you and to do whatever may contribute to your greatest satisfaction. This Menard tells me that he did not give to Don Nicolas Forastal any due bill against persons of this province, but merely a statement of the persons in it who were his creditors. However, if the opportunity presents itself I will, so far as I am able, carry out your Lordship's recommendations, although I must inform you how easy it is for all of these people to contract debts, which is facilitated by the use of funds which they do not possess, so that even though they are watched over they are always in debt. Therefore I beg your Lordship to please order that in no place within your jurisdiction shall anything be furnished to persons of this province, for everything furnished will be lost unless they pay voluntarily.

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[378] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

[379] *Violentas.* I do not find the word as a noun, in any dictionary at my command.

Under date of April 6 your Lordship deigned to inform me, by duplicate, what your lieutenant-governor of the post of Natchitoches, Captain Don Atanasio Demezieres, urgently represented to you, asking permission to repeat the journey to Los Cadodachos to effect the treaty promised last year by the chiefs of some of the nations who had made war upon us, with whom he met, in order that they might have no room to doubt his sincerity, and since he had promised them that he would return. To my great regret I could not reply at the time, for the reason stated, as well as because I was much farther than your Lordship from those nations and from Los Cadodachos, and consequently lacked the exact information which was necessary. At the same time, I was assured that the Tauacana chief who in the meeting held by M. Demesier• appeared so repentant and offered to make peace was the same one who, among others, was killed early this year by a detachment of my troops who were recovering a few horses which they, together with the people of that nation, the Vidais, and others, had taken from us three days before.

There was a noteworthy difference of opinions with respect to the best method of securing a firm and permanent peace; consequently I decided to take advantage of the entry of the father president of the missions of the interior of this province, and of a lay brother, his conductor and companion, both able and known among the several nations through the dealings of years, especially the lay brother, who speaks some of their languages. I charged them to inform themselves of everything, and to make presents to the Indian chiefs on my account, as they should see fit, especially to the principal chief of the Texas, then called Vigotes, in order that he might mediate with the rest of the nations, for his has never made war upon ours. And although they found the Vidays urging the other nations to go with them to avenge the outrages which they suffered on the occasion mentioned, yet they found this Texa chief already planning to mediate with four nations the treaty of peace which Don Atanacio Demezieres had offered. Through Vigotes these nations promptly gave the father president two buffalo skins, signifying by one, which was white, that the roads were open and free from blood, and by the other, which had four crosses painted on it, the treaty of peace which that many nations were ready to make. This chief went to Los Adaes with the fathers, who continued with him and the lieutenant of that presidio to the presidio of Natchitoches, at the immediate request of the lieutenant-governor of that place, that he might complete the work which he had begun the year before at Los Cadodachos. The father president reported to me the care and skill with which he had them harangued at length,[380] having assembled the principal persons of the pueblo, in order that they might be witnesses, and how, having made the Indians liberal presents, he had the good fortune that the chief mentioned should go with some Indians to confer on the matter with the tribes, accompanied by Don Luis Pablo le Blanc, the lay brother mentioned, and two citizens of Natchitoches and Los Adaes.

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[380] This passage is ambiguous, it not being clear whether reference is made to the speaking at Cadodachos in 1770, or at Natchitoches in 1771, but the latter seems to be the meaning.

They succeeded in bringing four chiefs of the Quitseis, Yscanes, Tauacanas and Cainiones, who solemnly made peace in Natchitoches, with all the customary ceremonies, speaking also for the Tancaues, but being doubtful of the Comanches and Tauayares, who are the farthest distant but also the most powerful and the ones who have caused the most damage in this province. The said lieutenant, Don Atanasio Demezieres, as the representative of your Lordship, and the lieutenant of Los Adaes, as my representative, together with the fathers and the Indian chiefs, covered themselves with the royal banner, as a sign of the union of all and as a token that those who live in La Luisiana are now as much Spaniards as the people of the rest of the provinces of our Catholic monarch. Having been given liberal presents, especially by the lieutenant-governor of that post, all went away well pleased, although they excused themselves from coming to ratify the treaties in San Antonio, both on account of the distance and because they had been called to go on an expedition against their enemies, the Osages.

On the part of these tribes only the chief Vigotes came here with the fathers. He brought forty-odd persons of his nation and three Vidais, who maliciously joined them on the road and continually influenced them with tales harmful to us and favorable to the Apaches, toward whom they tried to make them friendly, which they succeeded in doing upon their return. After they had been several days here and in the mission of San Joseph,[381] where the father president resides, and had ratified the treaties on behalf of the nations for whom they were made, they promised that representatives would come from those nations during the good season of the following year. I gave them their presents and clothed the chief; and in consideration of the service performed through his good offices and of the fact that he had the medal of merit sent him by the most excellent Señor Don Alexandro OReylli, I named him and armed him as head chief [*capitan grande*] of all these nations, decorating him anew by my hand with the royal medal and giving him the said title of head chief. At the same time he was given the name of Sauto, that of Vigotes being put aside. This ceremony was performed in the presence of the portrait of the king, the troops under arms, and the principal personages, ecclesiastical and secular, the act being solemnized as well as was possible in this poor establishment.[382]

But Sauto having set out, accompanied by his people and escorted by a captain with thirty soldiers as far as he might wish, it was arranged, evidently by the Vidays, that the second day of the march, as soon as the soldiers had departed, they should meet as if by chance[383] an Apache chief with more than a hundred men. But upon the report of Captain Sauto, the soldiers returned to join him as soon as possible; and, they advising me, on the next day I reinforced the detachment with as many men as I could, to cause greater respect. But being neutrals, they did nothing except to witness the treaties which the Apaches obliged the Texas to make with them. In proof of this, they were together a whole night carrying on their barter, then, separating, each nation went to its own country.

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[381] Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, founded about five miles below San Antonio in 1720, by the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, of Zacatecas, with the aid of the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, and named in his honor.

[382] *Pequeñez.*

[383] *En contradisos con.*

Some of the Texas remained with the Apaches, who, passing near the presidio, failed to enter it according to the custom by which some of them come with their chiefs. Instead they committed depredations among the cattle with greater insolence than before, and have continued to do so ever since, with increasing excesses. Many horses have been missed also, and the Indians of their nation who were in the mission have run away. The last of these, it appears, fled at the advice of an Apache who a few days ago went toward Texas with an Indian of the Texas nation, who had been among the Apaches since the treaties. They said that they had been dispatched by the Apache chiefs to call a gathering, in this neighborhood, of Texas, Vidais, Apaches, and others if they wished to join in their treaties. From this the worst consequences are to be feared, for, allied with the Indians of the interior, they are capable of razing these presidios as well as those of Coahuila, although that province has more means and safeguards than this, the same as has happened in Chihuagua and other places; for besides the great numbers of that nation, since they have been at peace with the Vidays they are well supplied with fusils and ammunition.

But once they are separated from the interior tribes, I feel sure that if they should come to declare themselves they would meet their punishment at our hands, notwithstanding the fact that they are domestic enemies, especially considering the apostates who have joined them, among whom there are some extremely dexterous in their mode of warfare. And your Lordship, being in formed of the matter, can coöperate on your part to persuade the nations which you have on your frontier to give up whatever intention they may have of joining the Apaches, and prevent others from joining them, providing that they be subjected to influences and rumors most suitable to this end. I hope that your Lordship will not omit any means to prevent this evil, as great as it is obvious.

From all foregoing your Lordship will see not only that there seems to be no objection to having Don Atanasio Demezieres go to treat of peace with the interior nations between that province, that of New Mexico, and this, but that whenever there is any thing to arrange with them I think that he will know the best method of bringing this about suitably to the service of both majesties.

At the same time I hope that your Lordship will utilize my small worth and faculties, for, in so far as they may avail, you will find them prompt to serve in everything best calculated to please you, and to pray that our Lord may preserve the life of your Lordship as long as he can. San Antonio de Bexar, Dec. 31, 1771.

The hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most attentive and faithful servant.

El Baron de Ripperda [rubric].

Señor Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga.

[Postscript] Some citizens of Los Adaes, who carry this letter, having deferred setting out until the third of this month, I had them return that night on account of the report which I received that a party of ten men, in pursuit of some fugitives from the missions, were that afternoon about nine leagues from this presidio near Guadalupe, when a soldier, the guide, set out to examine the country. Meeting with fourteen or sixteen Indians, who appeared to him to be from the interior, and whom he thought were not Comanches, they pursued him more than two leagues, obliging him to discard his saddle and all that he carried except his firelock. Finally, his horse playing out, he succeeded in hiding, on foot, in the forest, and after great hardships, in reaching his companions. Yesterday a captain, with as many men as he could get, set out to reconnoiter the country.

86. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY

APRIL 28, 1772[384]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR — SIR: My obligation as a faithful subject and servant of the king, which I ever try to fulfill, makes it my duty to inform your Excellency that the manifest advantages of maintaining the peace which we are happily securing with different barbarian nations of this north cannot be achieved without supplying them with annual gifts and affording them trade in guns and munitions as well. This should be done in such a way that it can not be charged, as ordinarily happens, to the governor's greed or desire for gain, but in some other way, independent of him and legal.[385] For, as they are now accustomed to the presents which in Luisiana were annually given to the friendly nations, and even now continue to be given on account of the king, at least to the faithful Cadodachos, and to trading their peltry for guns, munitions, breech-cloths,[386] hunting-knives, beads, and other things which they prize, they despise friends who do not afford this trade. It is more to their interest to make war on us; for, in exchange for the horses which they steal they secure whatever they desire from the French; and, failing to get it from them, they will obtain it easily, and with greater injury to us, from the English, whom they have so close by that only the Mississipi intervenes; and even from across the Misuri, if they should ever make peace with the Osages, Guasers, and other nations whom they[387] protect and provide with better and cheaper arms and munitions, teaching them whatever may be prejudicial to us. It is undeniable that if we keep all these interior nations[388] devoted to us and hostile to those which England protects, not only[389] will they serve as a bulwark in time of war with this nation, but, besides, the Osages and other enemies of these tribes can easily be driven to the other side of the Misuri, whenever, leaving this river at our front as a barrier, it may be found convenient to advance the line of presidios to New Mexico from the Mississipi, which river now serves as the boundary on our right. Thereby much good country would be added, and the union with these tribes would contribute, likewise, to subjecting in a large measure and to beating down the pride of the obnoxious Apaches. And since your Excellency perchance may be pleased to know what was agreed upon with the Tavayas nation in the treaty which they made at Natchitoches and have just ratified here, I enclose for your Excellency the certified copy of that treaty[390] which Don Atanasio Demezieres transmitted to me. The Tavayas nation is one of those whose friendship is most important to us, they having from two thousand to three thousand warriors. Indeed, only the Comanches exceed them of all the following nations: the Quitseis, Cainiones, Tancaues, Tauacanas, and Yscanes, with a portion of the Jaranames. The greater part of these last are apostates from the missions of La Bahia who are attached to the others and to whom the restitution of fugitives from the missions which is promised in the treaties[391] does not apply – for the same treaties of peace were celebrated last year with these nations months earlier than with the Tauayares, through the mediation of the father president of the missions of the College of Guadalupe de Zacatecas and Fray Francisco Sedano,[392] his companion, who for the last twenty years has frequented many of the nations named, as he goes to the interior nearly every year[393] with the supplies. I likewise enclose for your Excellency a copy of the official report which the said Demezieres recently sent to his governor, to the end that your Excellency may be informed of everything and may order me whatever may be your pleasure. Meanwhile, I beg our Lord to preserve the important life of your Excellency many years. San Antonio de Bexar, April 28, 1772.

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[384] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 1. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 1.

[385] It has seemed necessary here to turn a rather awkward positive construction into a negative one.

[386] *Taparravos.* I have not been able to find this word in any dictionary, but it is used in Mexico to-day in the sense given here. The article to which it now applies is a rather wide strip of cloth wound around the middle of the body.

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[387] Though the sentence is ambiguous, it seems clear from the context that the English are meant here.

[388] I.e. the Nations of the North, not the Osages, etc.

[389] The *assi como*, taken together with *no tan solo*, is redundant.

[390] *Estos paces.*

Most excellent Sir, your most affectionate and respectful servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

THE BARON DE RIPPERDA[394] [rubric].

Most excellent Sir Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua.

[Endorsement] Mexico, June 15, 1772. To the Fiscal. Bucareli.

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[391] See the treaty, *Document* 83.

[392] In the Talamantes copy the name is spelled Sedavo. The treaty referred to was signed at Natchitoches, July 30, 1771. The original is in Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 2368, no. 2036.

[393] The Talamantes copy changes *pues los mas entra con los avios* to *puestos mas*, etc., which is untranslatable, and manifestly erroneous.

[394] It will be noted here that Ripperda did not accent his name in writing; yet it was the custom for his contemporaries to do so.

87. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA, MAY 26, 1772[895]

My dear Sir: With great pleasure I received your Lordship's letter of the 3d ultimo, together with one for Don Atanasio Demezieres. They were brought by two soldiers of Los Adaes in thirteen days, including four days during which they were delayed in the rancherías of the Texas for the purpose of exchanging their worn out horses. As evidence that chief Sauto is very friendly to us I must inform your Lordship that he very willingly traded them a horse, the stallion of his drove, notwithstanding the fact that, having been in Natchitoches a few days before, accompanied by the reverend father minister of the mission of Nacogdoches, and having presented himself to the lieutenant-governor *ad interim*, Don Joseph de la Peña,[896] the latter gave him nothing and took no notice of him, being ignorant of the custom no doubt. Sauto returned very much offended and complaining, they tell me, to Los Adaes, where he consoled himself with the honor of assembling the inhabitants and the handful of soldiers for the purpose of having read the commission as head chief which I gave him, the ceremony being concluded with a salute of three guns and the giving of a present to him on my account. He later advised me that I must have another present ready for him in the autumn, when he would come with many people.

This nation has always been friendly toward the Spaniards; but last year, knowing that they were inclined to unite with our enemies, stimulated by their importunities and false representations, especially since they lost a Tauacana chief, who among others was killed by our soldiers; and knowing that the Vidays, who were making war on us under the cloak of friendship, were their principal influence against us and in favor of the Apaches, with whom they were trying to have the Texas make peace, I took advantage of the entry of the Reverend Father President Fray Pedro Ramirez and his companion, the lay guide Fray Francisco Sedano, an old acquaintance of various nations and very clever in dealing with them. They succeeded in dissuading Sauto and took him with them to Los Adaes; and M. Demezieres requesting that they should send him to Natchitoches, they complied. There such efficacious measures, which were very heartily concurred in by M. Demezieres, were taken that they fortunately succeeded in inducing this Vigotes (now Sauto), to go with the lay brother and Luis Pablo le Blanc to treat of peace for us with the nations which, I am persuaded, were already favorable as a result of the exhortation made them the year before by Don Atanasio at the conference which he held with them at your Lordship's order.[307] The result was that we succeeded in our purpose, secured in consequence a similar treaty with the Tauayas, and are expecting the most favorable results from the journey which, with your Lordship's well-considered instructions, he is at present undertaking among the nations who have made peace with us, and, I believe, even among the Comancha nation. From that tribe this presidio has lately suffered much hostility, notwithstanding the fact that that I have sent to them two of their women (two of three women and a girl brought me in February by a detachment of soldiers – the other woman and the girl remaining as hostages) with a present for their principal chief, called Pubea, and accompanied for five days by a detachment of soldiers. As was seen, and as was confirmed by five Tauayas who later came with the Spanish flag received in Natchitoches at the time of making their treaties, which they ratified with me, the emissaries divided the present among their band and immediately returned to rob in the neighborhood of and even within this presidio. Thirty-two days after their departure the mother of the girl, with her husband, the husband of the woman who remained as a hostage, and the brother of two Christian women of the same nation (one already married), who, together with another (also married[398]) were some time ago captured, came with a cross and a white flag pretending peace, there being in all seven men. With their companions they came robbing before their arrival, in the night preceding, and for many days thereafter. The hostages being restored, and they having stolen in this time more than four hundred pack-animals, of which only about one hundred eighty could be recovered, they went away well regaled, having arranged also for the flight of the three Christian women mentioned. Two of them made their escape at their husbands' sides; but they were recaptured, as was also the third, who, when her intention was discovered, tried to kill herself. I was therefore obliged to send them to the province of Coahuila, as well as the messenger woman who had returned with the feigned truce. Some days afterward she was caught not far from this presidio by some mission Indians, it being supposed that she had fled from the Apaches who had attacked them on their withdrawal from here, killing her companions and carrying away this woman, her daughter, and the two other women.

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[895] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

[896] As will be seen later, Peña antagonized both De Mézières and Ripperda, as well as Chief Bigotes.

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[307] This passage, it will be noted, concedes to De Mézières the credit for securing the treaties.

With regard to the Apaches, I think that Don Atanasio will already have informed your Lordship of my special charge that he use all possible means to have all the nations of the interior maintain the hatred which they profess for them; for, not knowing the importance of this, he was in doubt as to whether it would not be better to take advantage of the good offices which the Vidays were using in all places to reconcile the nations with the Apaches, although always with the intention of advising with me on the matter.* But your Lordship must know that if it has this effect it will also result in the ruin of the province, and, in turn, of the other frontier provinces. For even without such superior advantages that nation alone has for several years been afflicting especially the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila. The situation is now so critical that it has compelled the government of Mexico to provide for a campaign with a force which is now mustering in Chiguagua, while from here there have just gone under superior orders to their company of San Sabas, which is at present in the province of Coahuila, twenty-nine men with whom this presidio was reinforced two years ago. And as there is now setting out for Los Adaes a convoy which needs an escort, and indeed as large as possible during these first days' march, this presidio will be without men. For this I am very sorry, especially since I momentarily expect the troop of Indians which was accompanying M. Demezieres, all of whom suppose that we have a good garrison. In this convoy go a pilot, a merchant passenger, three English sailors, a free negro, native of Corazau, who for that reason, as he knows something of our language, serves as interpreter, and another negro, a slave of the merchant. All having been shipwrecked on the coast of Bahia del Espiritu Santo at the end of last August, they have purchased here, with three pipes of rum and three barrels of low grade sugar which they brought to this presidio from that of La Bahia, one hundred thirty-three beeves to sell in Natchitoches, and more than forty horses. At the order of the most excellent Señor Viceroy they are going to their colonies by way of that province in your Lordship's charge.

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[398] Or, "also Christian."

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* The reference is to *Document* 89.

I am duly pleased at the assurance which your Lordship deigned to give me of your confidence, for I regard it as certain proof of mutual harmony with respect to relations between individuals of the two provinces. Consequently I beg that your Lordship may be pleased to tell me whether the present lieutenant *ad interim* of Natchitoches[399] acted under your orders when he fined the paymaster of my soldiers of Los Adaes for having paid in that post for maize for the troops at one and a half and two pesos, the schedule price being fixed at ten reals, without having notified him at the time when he got the license of anything except that he must report how much, to whom, and at what price he bought it, then obliging him to pay said fine of twenty pesos, or rather thirty-two (for the maize which he bought at sixteen reals he had to sell at ten, in order not to permit him to leave without collecting) and taking ten pesos from each one of the vendors. I am entirely at your Lordship's disposal so far as I am able to serve you.

May our Lord preserve the life of your Excellency many years. San Antonio de Bexar, May 26, 1772.

Your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most loving and faithful servant.

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Señor Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga.

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[399] The reference is to Peña.

88. ARECHE TO THE VICEROY (DICTAMEN FISCAL)[400] MEXICO, JULY 31, 1772[401]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: This opinion of the Baron de Riperdá, governor of Los Texas, reduces itself to two points, the first being to state that the peace which happily is being secured with different tribes of that northern region cannot be maintained unless, following the practice with the faithful Cadodachos in Luysiana, these others be given some annual presents or gratuities and permitted to trade their peltry in exchange for guns, ammunition, breech-cloths, hunting knives, and other things which they prize, and that the trade in these commodities should be conducted in some way independent of the governor, in order that his recommending it may not be attributed to his avarice or desire for gain. For those nations depreciate friends who furnish them nothing, and consider it better to continue war on us, since in exchange for the droves of horses which they steal from us they secure what they need from the French, and in default of this, from the English, who are their neighbors, with only the Misisipi River intervening.

He also says that in this way keeping devoted to us those tribes which the English now protect and supply, they would serve as a bulwark in time of war; that the Osage tribe and others who are now enemies might without great difficulty be driven to the other side of the Misuri, whenever, leaving this river in front as a barrier, it may be found proper to advance the line of presidios to New Mexico from the Misisipi, which river to-day serves as a boundary, thereby adding a large and very good country; and that the union with these tribes would contribute to subjecting and beating down the pride of the obnoxious Apaches.

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[400] The fiscal was a royal official whose functions were similar in part to those of an attorney-general, and in part to those of a secretary of state. Most of the routine business of the viceroy relating to the Interior Provinces was first referred to the fiscal, whose advice was followed in the majority of cases.

[401] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 7. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 6.

This is the first point which the Baron de Riperdá proposes. In the opinion of the present writer it demands further examination with respect to the first part, which is to give guns, ammunition, and hunting knives to the Indians of the North, neighbors of our frontiers and of the English and French.

The Nations of the North, of whom he speaks, and with whom peace is happily being established, live, apparently, by trade in skins; and since for their traffic they need ammunition, guns, and hunting knives, they seek or take them, in exchange, from their neighbors, the French or the English, and accordingly depreciate our intercourse and friendship as useless to them, or of little value for the securing of what they desire and lack. But it will not be well, in the opinion of the present writer, that our people should furnish them these commodities for the sake of maintaining peace and in order that others of the many and diverse tribes that cover those boundaries, finding this aid among our people, should become involved or take part in this trade, because in this way they would soon find themselves armed and powerful enough to make the war upon us more bloody and unrelenting.

The fiscal does not think that these proposals of the Baron de Riperdá conform to the maxims, principles, and rules of a defensive war, or of a conquest like that which occupies the attention of our interior presidios and of the missions which they guard, when there may be other means by which our purposes would succeed without such risk, and without the disadvantages of giving arms to the enemy and wishing to overcome their power, which is the whole object of the governor's opinion.[402]

The Baron de Riperdá might have gone further, with the purpose of putting into this representation an unequivocal idea of the character of those tribes, of the method by which they make war upon us, and of other circumstances whose lack is noted – this being a matter requiring such long and careful consideration, since it is necessary to settle it in Mexico, at which distance it is not easy to ask him what it is desired to learn from his mouth – both in order that, in case it is decided to concede the points, it shall not be unknown by whom or how the exchange or trade in ammunition, guns, breechcloths, hunting knives, and beads with those Nations of the North may be carried on (which he says must be done independently of the governor, so that his proposal may not be attributed to avarice), as well as to speak concerning the advantage of this traffic for him who is to conduct it.

The fiscal has intimated or said that it is repugnant to give arms to our enemies and to wish to conquer them, or to bring them into our glorious and just dominion by force. The heathen Indians ought to be attracted to it and to our Holy Religion by other means, which may not so expose them to being conquered as will giving them guns and ammunition. The good will and evidence of friendship which we ought to put before them consist in helping them to get diversion, subsistence, and conveniences, by instructing them in our dogmas and polity, and by means of implements of agriculture.

The fiscal does not see, from the proposals of the Baron de Riperdá, that the English and French exchange with the Nations of the North and their neighbors, for the skins which they get from them, anything but ammunition, guns, and hunting knives, and doubts whether, in addition to these commodities they furnish beads and breech-cloths, inferring from this that they give them nothing of that which ought to comprise their food, such as maize and grain, and that they encourage the natives of that part of this continent in a wild and barbarian life.

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[402] This is a fair commentary upon the traditional policy with respect to the control of the Indians.

He says that they live from the chase and trade in skins, but it would be better if they were to live by agriculture, or from the diversions attached to it, since[408] there would be more hope of subduing them by this means than by arming them with guns, ammunition, and hunting knives. And thus the better method seems to be to entice them with implements with which to improve their lands rather than with those of the chase, which they can abuse to our injury and to the injury and offense of the missionaries, who attract them by mildness, good treatment, and presents.

Even if it should be regular to give them our guns, ammunition, and hunting knives, it would be necessary to examine and ascertain what advantages the trade in their peltry might render us, in order that the return for such goods should be commensurate; and to consider, likewise, whether we could supply them as cheaply as the strangers or their neighbors, the English and French, furnish them in exchange.

It is true that mutual trade and frequent intercourse contribute much to the union of nations, but this matter demands a close examination, and the fiscal does not make bold to suggest what should be the rule for its decision, or the measures which might secure peace and tranquillity for the provinces of the north.

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[408] The text reads *para que*, but *porque* better expresses the idea.

Your Excellency possesses a dextrous and happy hand for the direction of war in all its forms, but, nevertheless, it is fitting that this point should be discussed, as a grave matter, in a council, wherein its many aspects shall be meditated upon, and where attention shall be given to our interest and to the means which will be adopted to secure theirs by the English and French nations, who now maintain trade with the northern tribes of this New Spain from their establishments on that frontier or boundary. Consideration should be given to their proximity, their boundaries, their ambition to extend them, and the best method for us to break up this attempt and this desire, and to defeat their purposes, giving attention to all in opportune time, and before a breach or other accident occurs.

After having considered this matter as it demands, with respect both to our interests and to the progress of our holy religion, which will have to deal less with the friends than with the enemies who occupy that northern part of this America, a certified copy of the resolution will be sent to the king for his sovereign information, and that he may order whatever his high and just comprehension may conceive and determine to be most useful to his dominions and to his subjects.

The other point reduces itself to transmitting to your Excellency the ratification of the treaty which has recently been made with the Tabayas Indians, whose friendship is one of most importance, since this nation contains from two to three thousand warriors. As to this point it will be well to reply to him that he must see to it that these new treaties of peace be scrupulously kept, no injury being done the Indians unless they give cause, and that to this end he shall use whatever means he may think will attain this object and induce them to live in regular villages, adopting a semi-civilized life, and subjecting themselves to the authority of our sovereign.

The presidios ought not to look alone to guarding the boundaries of our conquests, but their attention should extend further, that is, to peopling their districts in good order, extending in them agriculture and commerce, assisting in the work of catechizing, which occupies the missionaries, and instilling in the inhabitants the civil and Christian customs of our nation, through the establishment of some economical government in the new settlements. And since the present writer is ignorant of the instructions or regulations which the governors and presidial captains bear from this superior government and captaincy-general, and in order to see if they require alteration, or if to them should be added some articles directed to this object, it will be well that your Excellency should have a copy of them sent to him, and also a copy of the instructions which the king issues to the governors and *alcaldes mayores* of these provinces. In the light of these documents the fiscal will ask what he ought in fulfillment of his office and of his desires to see extended the boundaries of our interior conquests, which to-day merit all the attention of the government in order that their expenses may be reduced and that from them may be secured the profit and advantage which the sovereign ideas of the king and the affairs of state in this America justly demand of us.

Mexico, July 31, 1772. ARECHE [rubric].

IV. THE EXPEDITION OF 1772 FROM NATCHITOCHES TO THE NATIONS OF THE UPPER TRINITY AND BRAZOS RIVERS

89. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA

FEBRUARY 25, 1772 [404]

Official communication sent by the lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches, concerning the peace which the Apaches are attempting to secure with other tribes, both of this district and that of Adaes, or Texas [405]

SENOR GOVERNOR-GENERAL, DON LUIZ DE UNZAGA: In consideration of what the Baron de Ripperda does me the honor to write me concerning the distastrous consequences that would result from the alliance which the Apache tribe is of late seeking with other tribes, I will cause their plans to be completely frustrated. And although, regarding the petition of the Bidais, who have acted as intermediaries in this matter, I have not shown myself opposed, on account of the general good which it seemed to me might result, as is set forth by the instrument which I presented to your Lordship, I have all along aimed to decide nothing until I should reach Bexar and consult with the governor-general, who resides there, upon so difficult a question. Now, however, knowing their well-founded hatred [for the Apaches], what I will do is to associate with me on my march the greatest possible number of the friendly Indians, not only that they may be present at the ratification of the treaty which has been granted them here, but also, if it seems well to the Señor Governor, that they may make an incursion against such Apaches as may be living in the neighborhood of Bexar. From this will result greater hatred between them than existed before, and by this infallible method the desires which are manifested to me will be attained.

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[404] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 6. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 6.

[405] On November 1, 1771, De Mézières, in a letter to Unzaga y Amezaga, gave reasons for his projected journey, saying that it would be a means of recovering Parrilla's cannons, of flattering the Taovayas, of settling them nearer Cadodachos, within easy reach of the traders, and of securing their coöperation in reducing the Comanche [Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 110]. This journey occupied eighty-seven days [see *Document* 21] and De Mézières arrived at San Antonio on June 10. He must, therefore, have set out on March 15 or 16.

I expect to lose no time in setting out. If your Lordship should have occasion to give me new orders, I trust that you will direct them to the lieutenant of Los Adaes, Don Joseph Gonzalez, with special instructions to forward them to Bexar, where I will receive them and obey them with the veneration and zeal that I profess.

May our Lord, etc.

90. DE MEZIERES TO THE BARON DE RIPPERDA JULY 4, 1772[406]

Report of Dn. Athanacio de Mezieres, Captain of Infantry, to Colonel Baron de Ripperda

SIR GOVERNOR-GENERAL — SIR: Having marched to the tribes formerly our enemies for the express purpose of attaching their chiefs and principal men to my expedition and bringing them to this villa (which I have done), because they were evincing a desire to see ratified by your Lordship the treaties which, through the mediation of the most reverend father president, Fray Pedro Ramires, they came to Natchitoches and Adaes to ask, and which were granted them in the manner which I had the honor to report to you,[407] it now becomes my duty to bring to your attention what I have considered most worthy of your notice regarding the nature of the country inhabited by these tribes, their possessions, the number of their people, their location, wars, alliances, trade, temperament, desires, and, finally, what seems to me the best means of putting on a firm footing the peace which, with happy beginnings, your Lordship, in conjunction with the governor-general of Luisiana, has established for the common good of the provinces under your respective commands.

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[406] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 28. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 26; Brit. Museum, Add. Mss. 17567, ff. 1-21, and Add. Ms. 17574, f. 2; Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 2368, no. 2307.

THE QUITSEYS. The village of the Quitseys, which is situated on a pleasant and fertile little meadow crossed by a permanent arroyo,[408] is composed of thirty houses occupied by eighty men, most of whom are young. They maintain a close union with the neighboring Cadodachos and Texas, and, on the other hand, an irreconcilable hatred for the Osages and Apaches, the former recently declared enemies of Luisiana, and the latter a tribe who never cease their attacks upon and hostilities towards the presidios of New Spain. The Quitseys women, as well as those of the villages which follow, are industrious, devoting themselves to the cultivation of the soil; and, considering the fact that their number is not much greater than that of the men, they have a prodigious multitude of children. The women make the houses, prepare the food, plant the fields, tan the skins, gather the crops, and work unceasingly, while their husbands are never employed except in war or in hunting. Their crops are limited to maize, beans, cantaloupes, watermelons, and pumpkins. They likewise provide themselves with various wild products, especially nuts and medlars, from the latter of which they make a kind of bread that is very palatable; and they do not despise even acorns. The trade of this village consists in bartering with the inhabitants of Natchitoches the skins of buffalo and deer in exchange for guns, powder, balls, and other merchandise useful for their support and defense. This is in conformity with the order of the most excellent Señor Conde de O-reiley that the Indians should be supplied with their necessities at the cost of their own labor, so that they might not dedicate themselves to the vices which idleness usually fosters, and, above all, so that they would not think of opening up a way to supply themselves through the English. The Quitseys nation is the one which has taken the least part in the hostilities waged against our presidios. It is one hundred leagues from Natchitoches and thirty from San Pedro. It is closely allied with the Iscanis, Tuacanas, Taouaiazes, and Ouedsitas. The people are cannibals just like these others, and they have the same custom of absenting themselves from their village during the cold season for the purpose of getting a full supply of dried meat, which is kept for the other seasons of the year. Their superstitions are excessive. They dedicate their chief cult and veneration to an evil spirit whom they fear and try to propitiate.

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[407] See *Documents* 79, 80, 82, 85, 86, 87. The names of the tribes which entered into these treaties are given in *Document* 86.

[408] See map.

ISCANIS. Having found the Iscanis scattered about and settled on different farms,[409] I encouraged them to unite to form a single village in the place where I found their chief and some families established. They promised me that they would do so as soon as the grain should be gathered and the harvest over. They comprise sixty

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[409] *Estancia*, farm or stock ranch. In Mexico it is frequently a subdivision of an *hacienda*. Here it seems to mean a cultivated patch.

FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF DE MÉZIÈRES'S REPORT

warriors, and many more women and children. Their country has the same qualities as that of the Quitseys, and they the same interests, customs, opinions, and temperament as those. They live at a distance of eight leagues westward from the Quitseys pueblo.[410]

THE TUACANAS. Continuing toward the west for seven leagues, I arrived at the pueblo of the Tuacanas,[411] after crossing the large Trinity River, which, when high, forms a peninsula where the village is located. It has only one very narrow entrance, which leads to the plains, for the woods become sparser thenceforward. The houses are thirty-six in number, the warriors one hundred twenty, with women in proportion, and an infinite number of children of both sexes. These people are horsemen, like the tribes which precede and follow. They speak the same language as the Iscanis, Ouedsitas, and Taouaïazes, and are considered to be the same nation; and they are making the same solicitations, promising that if a presidio is formed in their country it shall dominate and direct their bands. They are most cruel with their prisoners, whose flesh they eat, after having killed them with long and unheard of torments, horrible to mankind. They do not bury their dead, but take them to the open field. When they are reproved for such neglect, they ask if it makes any difference whether the birds and beasts or the worms eat them.

THE TANCAGUÉS. The Tancagués, which include the Yocouanés and the Maheyes,[412] enjoy alliance with the preceding nations. But this is only for war purposes, and because they recognize as their common enemies the Osages and the Apaches. They are disliked and even abhorred as vagabonds, a people without fixed homes, of undeveloped language,[413] and disposed to thievery. They have never been stable except while they were gathered in the mission of San Xavier,[414] whence in a short time they fled, since they care less for instruction and civilization than for their unbridled liberty and forays. The district in which they are ordinarily found lies between the Trinity and Brazos Rivers. They devote themselves to hunting buffalo and deer, from which they secure, besides their food, an incredible number of skins, which they are accustomed to take to the village of the Tuacanas to sell. Since I had notified them to come to the place last named, their head chief came there with a party. I publicly reproved him for the depraved customs of his people, and gave my express promise that, if these practices were continued, I should have them punished by the Quitseys, Iscanis, and Tuacanas, who were present and applauded my discourse. The chief appeared very humble and agreed to accompany me, designating a place where he would overtake me; but he did not do so, because he allowed himself to be led off on an expedition against the Apaches, at the invitation of the nations who had gathered there for that purpose. It turned out unsuccessful. Finally, I think that any peace which this nation may maintain will have to be attributed to the fear in which they live of the other nations and to the serious threats which these others have made them if they should return to their guilty ways, rather than to true repentance. They number one hundred fifty warriors, or something more, as I have been informed.

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[410] See map.

[411] See map.

[412] The Yojuane and Mayeye.

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[413] *De poco palabra.* Literally, "of few words."

[414] For the San Xavier missions, see "Introduction," and *Handbook of American Indians*, under "San Francisco Xavier Horcasitas."

THE XARANAMÉS. The Xaranamés are natives of the neighborhood of Espiritu Santo, where they were gathered in a mission, from which they fled at the instigation of the Tancagués and Bidais. They remained with these nations until their number was increased by new fugitives of their own nation, when they separated to live alone and in vagabondage. They have taken no small part in the past hostilities, because, as they were strangers and helpless among the heathen, they were forced to gain the good will of their barbarous hosts by offering themselves as guides and aiding in their robberies and murders, from which the desolation of many ranches has resulted. And what better proves their wickedness is the fact that they did not spare even their own compatriots when they could find them. I had them called together by prearrangement, and found them gathered in the village of the Tuacanas. They comprise forty-six warriors and a goodly number of women and children. Most of them know the Spanish language, and are skilled in various crafts. They are Christians but are totally indifferent toward or have forgotten our holy faith. They go naked, and their poverty is without equal. I tried by means of strong arguments and gifts to have them come and present themselves before you, pledging my word that they would be well received and kindly treated. And I might have succeeded in my purpose except for a certain Morales and another person, named Perico, stubborn apostates whom they have chosen as chiefs, and whose opposition, arising either from fear of being punished or that of being separated from so brutal and licentious a life, I could not vanquish. In order, therefore, to make sure of this miserable people and to prevent the Bidais, with whom they were living inharmoniously, from making a violent attack upon them, as was being talked of, I assembled the Tuacanas, and with their consent designated for the Xaranamés a site nearby, where they might reside; and it was agreed that they should do no more damage and receive no injury, and that they should await whatever might be decided in their favor by divine mercy. This soon manifested itself to me by raising up the most reverend father preacher, Fray Joseph Abad,[415] who, consulting his ardent zeal rather than his strength, is ready to march with the guard of soldiers which your Lordship has furnished him. This holy enterprise ought confidently to expect the happy outcome which is merited by the benevolence which guides it.

ANOTHER VILLAGE OF THE TUACANAS. Learning that above[416] the village of the Tuacanas there was another of the same nation, which a malevolent chief, hostile to us, had founded on the Brazos River, thirty leagues from the first village,[417] I decided to go to it to reconcile its inhabitants with those of the former, and to induce them to abandon that site and remove to the other, there to enjoy, besides the common benefit of peace, the important advantage of being able to resist their enemies with greater force. I talked to the chief and to his people, who consented to do what I urged, and remained only to wait until they should harvest the maize which they had planted. The village consists of thirty families endowed with a great number of children.

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[415] Fray Joseph Abadejo was left at mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais in 1721. [Peña, Derrotero, in *Mem. de Nueva España*, vol. 28, f. 45.] It is not certain whether or not he was the same as Father Joseph Abad, of the same College, of Zacatecas, who was at Mission Nuestra Señora de la Luz in 1759 and 1760, but it seems probable that they were identical. Father Abad was frequently at Natchitoches to perform church services during the middle of the century [Church records at Natchitoches].

[416] *Arriva* may mean here simply "beyond."

[417] The implication is that this settlement had been made recently.

To reach this village I departed from the western course which I had followed until then, traveling through broad and pleasant plains, varied by an infinite number of groves, but having the defect of a scarcity of water, such as there was being dirty and stinking, because of the great concourse of animals. The number of wild cattle which we encountered was incredible. After a short distance they increased so that we passed among innumerable herds – a precious and continuous supply from which the natives secure their food, clothing, houses, and articles of trade.

The Brazos River, on whose banks these Indians live, stops flowing entirely, and the little water which remains in pools is extremely salty and impotable. This shortcoming is compensated for by the many springs which the rocks send forth all along its banks. This is the best locality that I have seen, because of the fertility of the soil and the abundance of wood, pasture, and cattle, which even come in sight of the village. If your Excellency is favorable to the advantageous and unanimous petition of the Quitseys, Iscanis, Tuacanas, Ouedsitas, and Taouaïazes, and to founding a presidio among them, there is no other place that can offer so many advantages as this one. For, if the Tuacanas who dwell there remove from it, as they have promised, the Taouaïazes and Ouedsitas will immediately take their place. Then our people, together with these, enjoying the advantages mentioned, and directing the heathen recently and formerly reduced, would not be very far from the site of San Xavier, nor from Bexar, Natchitoches, the Tancagues, and the Comanchéz, and would have facilities for giving and receiving aid, for encouraging the good Indians and punishing the bad, for opening communication with New Mexico, and for checking the greedy foreigners who are contiguous to us. But their principal object (I do not tire of saying it) would be to chastise the Osages and the Apachéz.

THE OUEDSITAS AND TAOUAIAZÉS. The Ouedsitas and Taouaïazés, who have already been mentioned as speaking the same language as the Tuacanas and the Iscanis, are divided into two villages. The one with the first name is situated on the bank of the Brazos River, one hundred ten leagues from the Touacana village. The other, called the village of the Taouaïaz, is sixty leagues farther up towards the northeast, on the banks of the Natchitoches River, at the foot of a ridge which furnishes this river its chief supply of water. The two villages together contain six hundred warriors and a great multitude of women and children.

To the Ouedsitas village I summoned the Taouaïazes, who assembled promptly, and agreed to unite at the end of the year with the others, and to live in the place which your Lordship might assign them. This has been selected with equal satisfaction and advantage. The present houses of the Ouedsitas, through lack of wood, are made of earth, and are wretched and uncomfortable. Their country is most unpleasant, being dry and without good water or pasturage; but it is extremely well supplied with meat, because of the necessary and continuous passage of cattle, in which no interruption is noted during any of the four seasons of the year. This is the reason why up to the present they have remained in that place. And since to this reason may be added that of the roughness of the nearby mountains, whose fastnesses afford them impunity for their robberies, very wise is your Lordship's plan to have them removed to other localities, where, if they should still find it easy to trouble us, we should find it equally easy to pursue them.

The Ouedsitas and the Taouaïazes recognize a creator who dwells in the highest heaven, whence, by his will and power, he directs everything, having absolute control of life, and exercising a despotic rule over mankind. They with great devotion offer him the first fruits of their harvests and the chase; invoke his aid for success in their undertakings; prescribe rigorous fasts to secure his favor; and practice an infinite number of rites which it would be nauseating to relate, because of the superstitions which attend them. From this creed, more elevated than that noted in other savages, spring customs in general more advanced, such as the observance of promises, respect for elders, gentleness toward women, indulgence toward children, charity for the sick, generosity toward strangers, and obedience to the chiefs. They firmly believe in the reality of another life, in which the good (whose first rank is composed of the warriors) will be rewarded by being removed to a certain country where they will enjoy perpetual youth and strength, crystalline waters, exquisite fruits, savory meats, and other delicacies known to them in this world. On the contrary, the bad will be forever cast out among briars and rocks, surrounded by tigers and poisonous reptiles, and exposed to thirst, hunger, disease, and the worst calamities imaginable. The chiefs pride themselves on owning nothing, and, as they are not recognized as chiefs except in recognition of their deeds, the most able and successful warrior is the one who commands, authority falling to him who best uses it in the defense of his compatriots.

Sad it is that the good seen in these Indians serves only as a counterweight for their evil inclinations, such as the barbarous treatment of their captives, their incestuous and base intercourse, and other abominations. But through association and familiarity with us they will desist from these and become reduced to civilized life, as their docility promises.

Both of the foregoing villages are provided in their vicinity with salt of the finest quality; and that of the Ouedsitas, besides having in its territory red ochre beds, which persons versed in mining suppose to be deposits of greatest richness, is only a short distance from a mass of metal which the Indians say is hard, thick, heavy, and composed of iron.[418] They venerate it as an extraordinary manifestation of nature. It is some twenty leagues to the north. I did not have an opportunity to go to examine it, but there is not a person in the village who does not tell of it.

One of the agreements ratified in Natchitoches providing for the delivery and restitution of the cannons which Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parilla left during the campaign made by him against these Indians, I requested that they bring them, although they are more than sixty leagues from the place where the Indians live. For this purpose a detachment of twelve Indians and three Frenchmen was prepared; but as the chiefs told me how they would regret this removal, which, they said, foretold to them that the establishment of the Spaniards in their country – a thing they so much desired – would never come to pass, since it would be unprofitable to carry off that which it would be necessary to take back again, I desisted from my plans, partly in order not to displease them, partly through fear that my men would be attacked by the Osages, who are never lacking in the country where I had ordered them to go, and partly because I distrusted my mules, with which, in reality, in view of the difficulties of the road, the projected removal of the cannons to this villa of Bexar could never have been accomplished.

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[418] The indications are that this is the meteorite secured in May, 1856, by Major Neighbors from Wichita County, and now in the mineralogical museum of the University of Texas. According to Major Neighbors, "For many years its existence was known to the Comanches, who regarded it with high veneration and believed it to be possessed of extraordinary curative powers. They gave it the name of Ta-pic-ta-carre [standing rock], Po-i-wisht-carre [standing metal], Po-a-cat-le-pi-le-carre [medicine rock]; and it was the custom of all who passed to deposit upon it beads, arrow-heads, tobacco, and other articles, as offerings [W. F. Cummins, the Texas Academy of Sciences, *Transactions*, vol. i, 15]. The history of the meteorite given by Cummins [*op. cit.*] differs somewhat as to date and location where secured from that given by Mallet [*American Journal of Science*, third ser., vol. xxviii, 285-286]. A statement made by J. H. Kuykendall in 1857, or earlier, shows that the date given by Mallet cannot be correct [Texas Historical Association, *Quarterly*, vol. vi, 250].

THE COMANCHÉZ. The Comanché nation is very large, as is evident to me from the fact that while more than five hundred visited me, the chief men apologized for not having come in greater numbers, saying they had feared that they would be in the way. They are divided into various tribes or bands, named Naitanes, Yarambicas, etc.,[419] ruled by chiefs or captains, among whom the one called Euea, who has presented himself before your Lordship, is generally recognized. They have no fixed habitation, neither do they plant crops, but live in continual motion, never stopping in a place except while it abounds in cattle. This obliges them to divide themselves into an infinite number of little bands for the purpose of seeking better pastures for their horses, and cattle for their own food. This explains why they separate from their chiefs, following out their individual whims, and doing damage which the others can neither prevent nor remedy when it comes to their notice.

From this brief exposition may be seen what might be expected from such people if the following things did not militate in our favor: the sincerity with which the Taouaïaz, the Tuacana, etc., have solemnized peace;

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[419] The twelve divisions of the Comanche are listed by Mooney in *Handbook of American Indians*, part i, 328.

the repeated promises they have made to your Lordship to take care that no one shall break it; the fear which the above-mentioned Comanchéz have of these nations; and the interest which keeps them from giving cause to be denied entry into their villages, where they find a supply of what is so important to them for their defense and use. Neither are the Comanchéz ignorant of the fact that in the country which they occupy, where they live quietly in the shelter of the Indians mentioned, they are imprisoned on the west by the impassable mountains extending on that side, on the north by the Osages and other enemies who live on the Misuris, on the south by the Spaniards and the Apachés, and, finally, on the east by our new allies. This situation will force them to maintain inviolate the treaty which your Lordship has granted them. And since, in view of their mode of living, they cannot avail themselves of their numbers by uniting, they will find themselves in any crisis either disunited, and thus easy to conquer, or, should they unite, in danger of perishing from hunger.

I will not close without saying that they never ask for quarter, for they prefer the loss of life to the loss of liberty. But if they are victorious they show clemency toward their captives, whom they usually adopt, regarding with great disgust the feasts of human flesh in which their allies indulge. They punish adultery severely. They have keen intellects, are happy natured, modest in dress, skilled in arms, and very dexterous on horseback. If care is taken to assign them fixed settlements, which will follow from trading tools for the cultivation of the soil in exchange for their peltry, there is no tribe from which more satisfaction and usefulness may be expected.

THE MARCH FROM OUEDSITA TO BEXAR. On the way from Ouedsita to Bexar I went continually towards the south. The hills which I at once encountered are almost impassable, because of the frequent ups and downs and of the boulders and rocks among which often one cannot travel except on foot, and even then only with danger of disabling the beasts of burden. The hill country being passed, the plains are entered. There, as well as further back, the abundance of cattle and the scarcity of water continue, as far as the neighborhood of the Rio de los Llanos, which flows into the Colorado. At a short distance from the former there are encountered two others very close together which likewise join the Colorado. They are called Paredones,[420] because their banks are very craggy. Finally one arrives at the Arcon, the source of the Guadalupe River. The country between this and the Colorado is rough, timbered, stony, and very well suited to the thieving and hostile Indians, whom it affords impunity for their robberies and attacks by means of the asylum which it offers them. The distance from Ouedsitas to Bexar is one hundred fifty leagues, or somewhat more.

DESIRES OF THE INDIANS. The nations of the Quitseys, Iscanis, Tuacanas, Taouaïazes, and Comanchéz, whose chiefs, in the feather dance, which they consider sacred, have recognized your Lordship as absolute chief,[421] have given you repeated and most solemn promises to take all care that no one in the future shall do our presidios the least damage, and to consider as enemies and to make a savage war upon those who may do so. At the same time, they ask for the establishment of a presidio in their country, not only so that if there should be any return to evil ways the Spaniards, as trustworthy witnesses, may know that these tribes have no part in the crime, but also that, before the Spaniards' eyes, these Indians may without delay mete out the vengeance merited by the deed. These conditions are worthy of admiration, since they are the precious fruit of friendship, and in all respects show the most worthy intentions.

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[420] The transcript reads *Paderones*, but the meaning is clearly *Paredones*, meaning high wall or bluff.

[421] Apparently between June 10 (or June 16), when De Mézières arrived at San Antonio, and the date of this letter.

On the other hand, when it is considered that the above-mentioned Indians regard as irreconcilable foes the Osages, who are the most bitter enemies of Luisiana, and the Apaches, whose insults, as is well known, never cease in the farthest bounds of New Spain, it is evident that too much protection cannot be given to them, as individuals who, in defending themselves, likewise defend the vassals of his Majesty. Since the law forbids us all use of arms against Indians who do not first use them, when the Apache, with flagrant abuse of this holy law, steals our horses and destroys our cattle, who would not consider it fortunate for your Lordship to find those who, by opposing the common enemy and at the same time avenging their own grievances, might give us some respite from ours, thus securing peace through diplomacy, while provision is being made to keep it by force of arms? This is especially true at a time when, lacking sufficient forces, you are compelled to enlist the inhabitants, not without detriment to their estates.

Not only did the most excellent Señor Conde de O Reyli assign annual gifts of powder, balls, guns, etc., to various tribes, who received them as coming from his most Christian Majesty, but he also expressly ordered me to supply the neighboring friendly Indians, through bonded agents, with what they may need, in exchange for their crops and peltry. In conformity with this order the above-mentioned Indians are supplied. This arrangement will always be the surest guarantee of their loyalty and quietude, for, as they receive their supplies from Natchitoches, and know full well that Luisiana and Mexico are under the same sovereign, their intelligence is not so limited that they cannot understand that if they attack the inhabitants of New Spain they will at once make enemies of the people of Luisiana, and thus be denied the aid which it is no less important for them to receive for their self-preservation than for us to supply for our own quiet and safety.

I beg your Lordship to note that the tribes of the Quitseys, the Iscanis, the Tuacanas, the Ouedsitas, the Taouaïazes, and the Comanchés are fully instructed by the Indian Joseph, whom I brought before your Excellency. He was present at the fall of Quebec and of New France, and has intimate knowledge of the Micissippi River and of others which flow into it; and lately he went from the Taouaïaz, where he lives, to the Missuris, whence he returned with ammunition and arms, which I recognized to be of foreign make, thus beginning the pernicious trade with the Panismahas, to whom he took droves of horses. Through him they know that the English live on this continent; that they are very favorable to the Indians; that nothing pleases them so much as their friendship; that they sell their goods much more reasonably than we do ours; and that as a result of the recent wars they are to-day in possession of our former territories, and find it very easy to communicate with the Indians. At the same time, I found among the Taouaïazes two Indians of the said Panismahas who were advertising there the advantages of trade with the English. These I have brought and presented to you for better proof of the danger to which such an unseasonable union exposes us. For what can come from such reports except a desire to know a liberal people with an attractive trade, if we do not promptly establish the presidio which our Indians so much desire, and give them just treatment, which will keep them contented, be advantageous to the subjects of his Majesty (of the highest authority) and to our allies against the Osages and the Apachéz, tame and reduce the Tancagués and the Comanchéz, impede communication between our apostates and heathen tribes, the source of the saddest disorders, and, finally, serve as a solid bulwark against English greed?

SITUATION OF THE ENGLISH. The River San Luis, or Micissipi, now the boundary between the dominions of Spain and England in this North America, is joined on both sides by an infinite number of tributaries. Those coming from the east afford easy navigation clear to the center of the English colonies, where they rise; and those from the opposite side provide the greatest facility for the English to introduce themselves into Nuevas Felipinas, or Texas, New Mexico, etc. Notorious, therefore, is the opportunity which the English, whose dexterity and skill in making use of rivers are patent, have to come down by water at any time, with the security that is afforded by vast and unpopulated lands and with little or no opposition, bringing the supplies they wish, to invade our provinces, unless the most prompt and effective remedy is provided to anticipate them.

This remedy will be supplied by the establishment of the presidio which is asked for unanimously by the Quitseys, Iscanis, Tuacanas, Taouaïazes, and Comanchéz. To these, who all use horses and firearms, who live close to each other, and who are robust and valorous, there will be added, doubtless, when we may require them, the neighboring Texas and Cadodachos, whence will come a reinforcement of more than three hundred warriors, without leaving the bands unprotected. Thus peace will at once be established from Natchitoches to the neghborhood of Bexar. And by taking especial care to have the Comanches form settlements and desist from their vagabond life, the cordon now begun will be extended to the mountains of New Mexico. This will make it impossible for the English to learn about these countries, deal with the tribes that inhabit them, destroy the harmony that we are now beginning to enjoy, win over the Indians who voluntarily and gladly submit to the gentle rule of our Catholic monarch, or embarrass our dealings with and subjugation of those who live scattered on the banks of the enormous River Missuris, whose source is yet unknown, notwithstanding the fact that we have navigated it so many years. This ignorance is the most unquestionable evidence of our idleness, particularly since the latter could not be overcome by the discovery, of which I have been a witness near this river, of a great quantity of ivory and other bones of elephants–proof incontrovertible that our continent borders upon that of which these quadrupeds are native.

Finally, not having reaped, and having no hope of reaping, any advantage from the Apaches who live so near your Lordship's presidio, but, on the contrary, continually experiencing from them new insults and rapine, it appears, in view of the incessant attacks which their enemies plan to make upon them, that either they will be obliged to take refuge in the asylum of our missions, to prevent their complete destruction, or that they will suffer this destruction in a short time, especially if the Taouaïazés and others of their group are not denied the aid and munitions which ought to be conceded to such useful allies, in order to secure the important success of their campaigns.

THE OSAGES. The Osage nation, established on the Missuris River, and divided into two villages, reaches the number of one thousand men. They are not more than seven regular days' journey from Los Ylinuezés, where we are established on the west bank of the Micissipi River, opposite the English, who occupy the other bank.

From this situation it arises that the Osages, being informed, not only of the unfriendly relations which we have maintained in the past with the English, and of which they were witnesses, since they assisted us in the last wars, but also of the breach which may occur in the future, they are offering their alliance, in anticipation of it, to the one who will pay them best. They appear insolent and proud, and commit the gravest injuries, because of the assurance that attacks made by them on one party will cause the other to free itself from similar attacks [by purchase]. They never fail to demand that protection which favors and perpetuates their outrages – a sad example of which has just occurred in Luisiana, with danger to the intercourse, property, and life of its inhabitants.

Since, happily, these Osages are irreconcilable foes of our Indians, as I have noted, we ought to see to it that they never make peace with them, for from it would result the very grave consequences here set before us. And, for the same reason, the injury which the Taouaïazés, etc., have done us should be pardoned, considering how much worse it would have been and will be for us if these Indians do not vigorously defend our frontiers against a tribe which, in the matter of incursions and robberies, is reputed to be indefatigable, without distinction between friend and enemy. Indeed, in order to give you some idea of their detestable ferocity, I must not omit to say that, when their chiefs go to war, they usually vow not to return to their villages except with bloody hands; and if they fail with those whom they seek to kill, in order not to perjure themselves they even slay the first of their compatriots or allies whom they meet.

THE BIDAYS. I have not included the Bidays nation among our friends, because the peace which they have made with the Apachés seems to be just cause for considering them as quasi-enemies, for it is patent that they are supplying these Apaches with firearms and ammunition in exchange for mules and horses, well known to have been stolen, and in the theft of which the Apaches exhibit the greatest audacity. From this the most painful consequences are to be feared; and there is little to be thankful for in the fact that the Bidays personally do not do the damage when they are the cause of its infliction. Consequently one should praise your Lordship's decision looking to the prompt correction of so great an abuse.

The Bidays comprise perhaps one hundred fifty men. They live a short distance south of the Texas. From their dealings with these and with their neighbors, the Orcoquisas and Atacapas, it is to be presumed, they supply themselves with powder, balls, and arms, which they pass on to the Apaches. This pernicious trade shall be infallibly extinguished, as your Lordship demands of me, either by the gentle and friendly representations which I shall make to the Bidays, or, if these do not avail, by the rigorous but necessary measures which I shall use, all the tribes who are interested in the prompt abolition of so harmful a trade concurring to the same end.

There being nothing for me to add to this report, I respectfully repeat to your Lordship my unchangeable desire, in so far as I may be able and your Lordship may order me, to fulfill your worthy commands, to the full extent of my duty and of my inclination.

May God spare the important life of your Lordship as many happy years as possible. San Antonio de Bexar, July 4, 1772.

Señor Governor-general, your Lordship's hand is kissed by your most humble and faithful subject,

ATHAN$^{\text{IO}}$ DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Colonel Baron de Ripperda.

Return from the Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar, or Villa de San Fernando, to Natchitoches[422]

The Villa of San Fernando, capital of the province of Texas, or Nuevas Filipinas, inhabited by more than eight hundred communicants ministered to by a secular priest of the diocese of Guadalaxara, has a mild climate and lies north-northeast of the city of Mexico, from which it is distant three hundred sixty leagues. Its polar elevation, or latitude, is thirty degrees and five minutes, and its longitude two hundred sixty-four degrees and five minutes.

Going east-northeast one comes at once to the San Antonio River, which, by means of its irrigating ditches, fertilizes all the lands of the villa, and whose banks please the sight by the multitude of its cottonwood and other luxuriant trees. Three leagues farther on is the arroyo called the Salado. Not far from this is a prairie through the middle of which runs the arroyo called the Civolo. Continuing in the same direction seven leagues and first crossing the arroyo of San Miguel, one comes to a spring[423] forming a considerable-sized river, to which they have given the name of Guadalupe, there being at a short distance another river of the same name. Six leagues farther on one comes to some pools of water in a prairie called Los Alamitos.

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[422] This portion of the report was added after De Mézières reached Natchitoches. Two copies of it are contained in the British Museum, in Add. Ms. 17574, f. 2 and Add. Mss. 17567, f. 17, *et seq.* These will be referred to here as B and C respectively. B is an official copy bearing the signature of El Marqués de Casa Calvo, and is the basis of this text. C is a copy made from an official copy by the same person. It is possible, therefore, that B is the original of C. Between B and C there is little essential difference, although there are many variations with respect to spelling, capitalization, abbreviations, the use of arabic numerals, etc. One addition is made by C to B, namely *de comunion* [communicant], in the first sentence. The documents, as contained in the British Museum, form part of a report made on the Louisiana boundary, C being called *Informe de Miro, sobre la Luisiana.* A copy in Pap. Proc. de Cuba, leg. 2368, no. 2037, contains no essential differences from B and C.

Four leagues to the northeast is the San Marcos River, which joins the Guadalupe twenty-three leagues from this ford; and two leagues farther on the arroyo called San Rafael, or El Blanco, is reached. Going from here northeast through a prairie, nine leagues are covered before arriving at the arroyo called Garrapatas; and three leagues from here due northeast, in a place abounding in buffalo, is the large-volumed Colorado River, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico below the Bay of Espíritu Santo. From here to the Arroyo del Encadenado the distance is estimated at five leagues; eight leagues from this place, going east by north, is a prairie called Las Animas de Arriba; toward the south is a beautiful river called San Xavier; and east-by-north at the same distance is another arroyo which they call Las Animas de Abaxo. Two leagues southeast from here begins the Monte Grande[424] [Big Forest] called Galvan, which extends to the east-northeast. Since it contains some large hills, and because of the great quantity of oaks, walnuts, and other large trees, it is a place difficult to cross. As one penetrates farther into it, at four leagues several arroyos are encountered, among them being a spring called Las Puentecitas,[425] in whose neighborhood the nation of the Maheyes, Yocuanas, and Tancagües is usually camped. On the farther edge of this range, or forest, one crosses plains having plentiful pasturage and a copious spring called Buena Vista. Going east by south from here, at a distance of six leagues one arrives at the banks of Arroyo del Nuncio, after crossing the Arroyo del Aguíla.

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[423] *Ojo de Agua*: literally, a spring, but more often used in eighteenth century manuscripts for creek, or headwater. The springs referred to here are the remarkable ones at New Braunfels, Texas. "In addition to common springs which issue from beneath bluffs or well up near the banks of water courses, there is found in Texas a series of remarkable artesian springs, often of large volume, which arise from fissures along the line of the Balcones displacement. They are usually in the form of beautiful pools of clear water. Such springs are found at Austin, Manchaca, San Antonio, Brackett, Delrio, and elsewhere" [Simonds, *The Geography of Texas*, 1905, p. 38.]

Six leagues east is the River Brazos de Dios, whose banks are covered with a dense growth of trees, which make the crossing difficult; and two leagues farther on is the place called Los Angeles. Eight leagues east by north from here is the prairie of the arroyo called Corpus Christi. Six leagues northeast is a lake called Santa Ana, which is reached after crossing the arroyo called Nava Soto; nine leagues farther on in the same direction, through country made very pleasing to the sight by oaks and walnuts, is the place called Santa Clara; and two leagues farther in the same direction is a prairie near the lake called San Luis.

Eight leagues from here east by north, after crossing some miry arroyos, the Trinity River is reached; a short distance from it is the prairie of the arroyo of San Juan; and eight leagues farther on in the same direction, after crossing the Arroyo of Santa Ephigenia, is the prairie called Del Castaño. Going seven leagues east by north, crossing meanwhile the arroyo called Santa Coleta, one comes to the plain called San Pedro, which is inhabited by the Nabeda Kius Indians, a band of the Texas. Six leagues from the foregoing place is the Nechas River; then, going east by south for ten leagues one passes large hills, pleasant plains, and abundant pastures. Eight leagues farther on is the Angelinas River, or the River of the Azinais; and nine leagues from here is the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches, in whose neighborhood is the ranchería of Indians of that nation, and where resides a Franciscan religious of the College of Zacatecas.

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[424] The timber belt along the Brazos below and about the mouth of the Little River was always called in early days the Monte Grande. It is a part of the eastern Cross Timbers.

[425] Las Puentecitas was noted in one of the diaries of the early eighteenth century.

Eight leagues east-southeast from this mission is the prairie which they call La Tinaja, and eleven leagues due east are some sand hills covered with a difficult forest. Five leagues further on the small arroyo of Atoyaque is crossed; and continuing for six leagues one reaches the place called Los Ayz (so-named for the Indians living in the neighborhood), where a Franciscan religious of the College of Zacatecas lives in the mission called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Going seven leagues east-northeast past some hills, arroyos, and woods, one reaches Arroyo del Patron; seven leagues farther in the same direction is the large-volumed river called San Francisco de las Sabinas; and eight leagues farther in the same direction is the Arroyo de San Miguel.

This very large province can compete with the most fertile and productive. It produces in abundance beans, maize, large and small stock, buffalo, deer, red deer, wild goats, turkeys, bear, wild hogs, partridges, hares, rabbits, and other species both of quadrupeds and birds, which have served us in this long journey for recreation as well as for sustenance. The province is also fertilized by the rivers named, which cross it and which so abound in fish that one can catch them with great ease. The forests produce with great abundance chestnuts, medlars, and all the known kinds of walnuts. Grapes grow wild with bewildering profusion on stocks and on vines which entwine the very trees. But this is not surprising, considering the fact that the latitude is similar to that of Europe. For this reason the same products may be expected from the soil, which, when reduced to fields, would give abundant harvests of wheat, rice, and other ordinary grains, as is now the case in the villa of San Fernando. To these may be added the considerable yield of cochineal, although wild, of which, because of the laziness of the inhabitants, no use is made except for dyeing a certain quantity of woolen fabrics for their own use.

Finally, eleven leagues east by south from the beforementioned Arroyo de San Miguel, is the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Adaes, in whose neighborhood flow other arroyos, having an abundance of pines, oaks, walnuts, etc.; and going seven more leagues from that presidio in the same direction, one comes to the Fort of San Juan Bautista de Natchitoches, which is two hundred twenty-two leagues from the villa of San Fernando.

[Endorsement] This is a copy.

EL MARQUÉS DE CASA CALVO.

91. DE MEZIERES TO THE VICEROY, JULY 16, 1772 [426]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR—SIR: In consequence of the decision of the governors of Luisiana and Texas, I have been to the tribes who were formerly our enemies, and I have not only learned of their good intentions, but, since I found the Yscanis, Tuacanas, and Taouaïazés divided into different bands, very remote from each other, with evident detriment to our interests, and since the suspicion that trade and alliance exist between these tribes and those nearest to the English is already confirmed, I have also encouraged them to draw near to our settlements and to unite to form a cordon of which we may make use, either in the reduction of the Comanches, of whom there is still doubt, or in any trouble that may arise from malevolent Indians or from foreigners. All of this the chiefs and principal men of these villages, who accompanied me to this villa, have promised to put into execution as soon as they shall harvest their present crop. At the same time they make the praise-worthy request of a presidio among their own villages, and ask that in the meanwhile some soldiers may go to witness[427] the fulfillment of what they have promised the Señor Colonel Baron de Ripperda, whom they solemnly elected and unanimously recognized as absolute chief of their tribes.

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[426] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 16. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 17.

Now, by order of this same Señor Colonel, I am again going in to these tribes, in company with the very reverend father preacher, Fray Joseph Abad, to aid him in the recovery and conversion of a large number of Xaranamés Indians, apostates who have fled from the mission of Espiritu Santo,[428] and who have been living for many years past with the barbarous heathen. Going from there I will end my journey by passing among the

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[427] I.e. to live among them.

[428] The mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga was founded near the lower Lavaca River in 1722 close to the site of La Salle's fort. In 1726 it was removed to the Guadalupe River, above the present city of Victoria, to a spot now called Mission Valley. In 1749 it was again transferred to the San Antonio River, at the present site of Goliad.

Texas and Bidais, with the purpose of putting an end to their alliance and injurious relations with the Apaches, not omitting to assemble the Tancagués,[429] in order that they may keep the promise they have made me to present themselves, as the others have done, before the Señor Colonel Baron de Ripperda. His instructions have been the guide for my conduct, and I pride myself not a little on having been the instrument, although so feeble a one, of which he has deigned to make use for carrying out his wise plans; and if, in my small part, I succeed in meriting the enviable approval of your Excellency, it will be the most precious fruit of my labors and the most secure bond for the continuance of my ardent zeal.

May our Lord guard and prosper the important life of your Excellency as many years as he is able and as I incessantly ask. San Antonio de Bexar, July 4, 1772.

Most excellent Sir: Sir, your most respectful subject and servant kisses the hand of your Lordship.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES Y CLUGNY [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Viceroy, Fray Don Antonio María Bucarely y Ursua.

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92. DE MEZIERES TO THE BARON DE RIPPERDA
JULY 4, 1772[430]

SIR GOVERNOR-GENERAL — SIR: Being an eye witness of the insults and robberies which the Apache Indians have committed during my stay in this villa and foreseeing the greater ones which they may commit in the future, judging by their perverse disposition and the outrages which they have recently perpetrated in Nueva Estremadura, I propose to your Excellency to invite in the coming months of April or May the greatest number I can of the tribes of the north, and to conduct them in person until we encounter the Apachés referred to, destroy their crops, carry off their stock, raze their pueblos, and do them the greatest damage possible, so that, having been punished in this way, either they may finally enter the missions, as a true refuge for their safety, or retire to a place where they have no opportunity to attempt anything against the security of these inhabitants.

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[429] It will be seen from subsequent documents that he did not carry out this program completely.

[430] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 21. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 21.

This journey will result in our gaining more and more the friendship of the northern tribes mentioned, with whom I will arrange this enterprise as if it were devoted entirely to their own interests. And when they are free from the dread in which they live of the Apaches, if it turns out as happily as I desire, we will get them to dedicate themselves entirely to the important task of keeping watch over the Osages, who are even more terrible enemies, as is set forth in the report which I have the honor to present to your Lordship.

The supplying of the necessary munitions of war to the Indians who may accompany me is to be charged to my account, and I limit myself to asking that rations for their return journey to their villages be furnished them in this presidio, and that, likewise, permission be given them to sell here the captives that they may bring, because their rescue will be an act of great humanity, as well as because it will serve to encourage such expeditions. I conclude by entreating you to let me know as soon as possible whether this meets your approval, so that I may make the necessary arrangements, for your Lordship is well aware that I cannot move without first obtaining the permission of the worthy chief on whom I depend.

May God spare the important life of your Lordship as many years as he can and as I desire. Béxar, July 4, 1772.

Señor Governor-general, I kiss the hand of your Lordship. Your most humble servant,

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Colonel Baron de Ripperda.

93. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY JULY 4, 1772 [431]

[No. 1] MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Sir: Having reported to your Excellency in my former letters the invasions that were continuing in the neighborhood of this presidio, and having awaited during the whole month of May just past the arrival in it of Don Atanasio Demezieres, lieutenant-governor of the post of Natchitoches, accompanied by various chiefs and Indians of the nations which have made peace with us, I have to inform your Excellency that this arrival took place on the tenth of the past month, to my very great satisfaction, as I saw thus achieved, in the greater part, what I have so much desired, whilst our forces are so limited. But, it being reported on the same morning that the night before about a hundred mares and she-mules of the mission of La Concepcion [432] had been carried off, it disconcerted and surprised the chiefs of the nations as well as us. And, as Don Atanasio Demezieres gave me the fullest assurance that none of those who had accompanied him were implicated, I at once provided that an officer should set out with thirty soldiers, an equal number of mission Indians, a nephew of Don

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[431] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 21. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 11.

[432] The reference is to the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, founded in 1731 a short distance south of San Antonio. Its remains are still fairly well preserved.

Atanasio, and three of the Frenchmen who accompanied him, as well as a chief of the Tauayas and two Comanches, whom I sent on my own horses to be witnesses of the aggressors, predicting that they would be of their own nation, which proved to be the case. They were overtaken after a three days' run by the officer and three soldiers, the nephew of Don Atanasio, three Frenchmen, and a Comanche. They could not now [recover] the horses, and, although the first order which I gave, and which all the chiefs of the other nations approved, was to put them to death, yet, because of the petition of the chief of the Comanches and of the request of the other chiefs, I revoked it, they promising that if the Comanches continued [their depredations] they would secure satisfaction, as their own affair, even by declaring war against them. But they, as well as Evéa, chief of their nation, gave the offenders a severe and extended punishment,[488] and everybody was very much gratified, although customarily these nations do not raise the hand to punish unless it is to put to death.

For some days before these Indians arrived, and while they were here, up to the twenty-third of the past month, disturbances were continual in all directions, although of little importance and apparently caused by Apaches. The sergeant of the presidio of La Bahia met them about ten leagues from his post killing the cattle of the mission of El Rosario, but was able to capture only two men, five women, and six children, with thirty horses. Ordering the men whipped, despoiled of everything they had and then released, I authorized the captain of that presidio to grant them any favor he might wish with respect to the whipping and to leaving them some horses, but ordered half of the rest given to the mission as a partial recompense for the damage which it had suffered, and the remainder distributed among those who captured them. But a few days afterward, when the sergeant was escorting the pack-trains that were going for maize to Rio Grande, he was very much provoked by the Apaches, who obliged him to give a horse to pacify one of those whom he had caught killing cattle; and the occurrence being exaggerated, I was obliged to send a detachment to aid him. When a party of about eighty persons of the missions were bathing, there was seen a party of the same Indians, among whom the apostate prisoner confessed to have been. They pursued a woman and took off some horses, cutting their hobbles in plain sight. The twenty-odd horses which on two occasions have been taken from the ranch of the captain of this presidio were also taken by the Apaches, among them apostates, of whom the most pernicious was the one called Joseph Miguel, although he was raised from childhood in the mission of San Antonio. Seven months after he fled the last time, with ten persons of his family and others, he was so bold as to enter the presidio with another heathen (during the presence here of the nations who have come to ratify the treaties, who as his enemies were stirred up), to find out if we had decided to go to attack his people in company with the nations of the interior, forgetting that he was a fugitive, or at least that he would be treated as such. But he was immediately imprisoned, and will remain so until your Excellency shall deign to decide what is best to do. Subsequently eight horses of the mission of San Antonio have been missed, and although their trail plainly joined that taken by the Indians of the interior, we are certain that the offenders cannot be any of those who were here, for we are sure that at the first blow which the Apaches should receive from the others, those hereabouts would at once declare themselves. And to prevent them from killing the cattle of these ranches, where they have done so much damage, I have just established a corporal and nine soldiers in the ranch of La Mora, belonging to the mission of San Antonio, near that of Captain Menchaca. This is all that has occurred up to the present. Again expressing my due respect for your Excellency's authority, I beg that our Lord may guard your important life many years. San Antonio de Bexar, July 4, 1772.

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[488] The meaning of this passage is not altogether clear.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: the hand of your Excellency is kissed by your most humble and affectionate servant,

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua.

94. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY
JULY 4, 1772[434]

[No. 2] MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Sir: I must not fail to inform your Excellency that the reverend father president of the missions of the College of Querétaro, Fray Juan Joseph Gumiel, desiring to recover several apostate souls of the mission of San Antonio, both natives of it as well as Apaches who at present live with the heathen of that nation, has decided to send to-day, when a convoy is setting out to bring maize from the Rio Grande, a minister directed to the reverend president of those missions; and, thinking greater progress will be made, and with the purpose of making his enterprise more successful, has ordered him to take the apostate Apache called Joseph Miguel whom I have in prison with another, a heathen, because they came here while the nations of the interior were here.

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[434] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 12. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 13.

When I had them examined by the captain of this presidio, who is protector of the apostate, they said that they came to find out whether we were disposed to go with those nations to attack them. And although the father president named heard the report which the captain made of his examination, the Indian has recently succeeded in dissuading him by pretending that he came to seek the mission, and that he will bring the rest of the apostates if they let him go with the father who is setting out; therefore, the reverend father asks that he be liberated, but I have been sorry to have to refuse the request, on account of great and powerful objections; for this Indian, who had been raised in the mission, had become so malevolent that he repeatedly absented himself from it, living with the heathen of his nation, and even came to do this without the permission of the fathers and to have no respect for them whatever. Finding him so obnoxious and of such bad example, for much lighter offenses than the present they had asked that I should banish him to labor in the mines. But, having informed the reverend father president that it is now my intention to thus dispose of him, he says that he will not permit it. Therefore I beg your Excellency to please inform me whether my authority extends to punishing and banishing individuals of the missions who for their misdemeanors may merit it or from whom known evils will result if they are not expelled as an example; and also whether your Excellency regards it proper that the said Joseph Miguel should be sent to labor in the mines. Meanwhile, I shall keep him imprisoned on account of his backslidings mentioned. For recently, seven months ago, he fled, taking his wife, her father and mother, and as many as ten persons of the mission. He also had a part in various thefts which were committed up to two days before his arrival. Spying the Comanches who in company with others pretended to make peace, he succeeded in killing three, carrying off three women and a girl, and in killing the chief of the five Tauayares who came to ratify the treaty with me, taking from him the Spanish flag and all that I had given them and the others. Of this flag his nation made much ostentation, showing it to the citizens of this presidio who have gone among them. Finally, two chiefs of the friendly nations having remained here, one of them, of the Quitseis nation, who stayed several days watching especially how the Comanches comport themselves, went to see the prisoner in question, and the latter tried to catechise him and to make him friendly with the Apaches, saying that they desire to make friends with them, as well as with the rest of the nations of the interior, and bribing him with offers of his numerous and rich horse-herd, from which they hope to make a goodly gift to chief Sauto also, for they know that he is to come soon with people of his tribe, the Texa. From all this and the mode of his coming your Excellency can infer what kind of a person this Indian prisoner is, as well as the sad consequences which ought to be expected from liberating him, both because of the harm he would always do to his nation and because of the likelihood that he would continue his attacks on the friendly nations, especially upon their withdrawal from this presidio. Six of those persons who were here, having known the cause of his imprisonment and not being ignorant of the damage he had occasioned them, suspected us of bad faith for no other reason than the knowledge of his liberty. To your Excellency, who has deigned to order me to exert all means to bring the peace about, and who knows how important it is, I render my due respect, awaiting your welcome orders and hoping that our Lord may guard your excellent person many years. San Antonio de Bexar, July 4, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: the hand of your Excellency is kissed by your most affectionate and respectful servant, EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

95. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY JULY 5, 1772[435]

[No. 3] MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Sir: The captain of infantry, Don Atanasio Demezieres, lieutenant-governor of the post of Natchitoches, in Luisiana, arrived at this presidio on the tenth of last month, after having gone among the tribes of the Quisseis, Tauacanas, Yscanes, Tauayares, Uadchitas,[436] and Comanches. He likewise summoned the Tancaues, but they, not knowing the reason, were unprepared and without horses. They went back to get them, but, being called off by news of the Apaches, they set out in search of them, although fruitlessly, and did not return in time to come with the rest.

To all these tribes he distributed a large supply of presents, with which he went provided. He found them all firm in what they had promised, there being doubt of the Comanches only, although their principal chief, called Puvéa or Euèa, assembled with more than five hundred of his tribe, and came here with some of them, joining the march at the instigation of the other friendly tribes. All accompanied Don Atanasio, to the number of seventy, including some women. He spent eighty-seven days from the time of his departure from Natchitoches until he arrived at the presidio. He brought his nephew, with the royal flag, seven Frenchmen, inhabitants of that post, and another from Los Adaes.

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[435] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 14. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 15.

[436] It is impossible to say certainly whether this is Uadchitas or Iladchitas, but the capitalization, as followed in the other names of the list, and the spelling given in other places by De Mézières, argue in favor of Uadchitas.

All of the chiefs of these tribes showed great pleasure at having come, notwithstanding the length and the difficulty of the journey. They ratified before me the promises they had made, especially in the formal meeting which was held in public, and which was attended by four reverend fathers (including the two presidents), the two captains of this presidio and that of the Orcoquizá,[437] and the cabildo of this villa. They gave the strongest proofs of a sincere truce, enacting for me afterward the feather dance, which among them is a very special sign of peace, and giving me the feathers and the buffalo skins in which they wrapped me with their customary ceremonies. They made very grave harangues to the creator of all things, whom the Tauayas recognize, admitting that without his permission nothing succeeds; and also to their Indians, to stimulate them to keep their promise; and offered to watch over the truce of the Comanches, even to the point of declaring war against them whenever they should break it. The chief Eúea agreed that every aggressor from his tribe should be put to death. He was somewhat ashamed of the recent difficulty on account of the robbery which all had witnessed at his arrival, and of the false truce, of which I reminded him in the public ceremony, bringing out the white flag with which they had feigned this truce. These reasons prevented them from asking for the women of their tribe who are in the province of Coahuila, although they had come with that intention. But the husband of La Gentil has remained here, awaiting, doubtless, an opportunity to gain favor. On this account, I am repeating my charge to the governor of Coahuila to try to keep her, without baptising her, until I notify him, urging him very particularly to recover and send to me (paying whatever they may demand) the wife of the head chief of the Tauayas. She and another woman having been captured by the Apaches a few months ago, the latter fled, and gave certain report to this chief that a Spaniard of Coahuila had bought his wife, which I have also learned through another channel. She is so much esteemed by him that he assures me that she is the only one he has ever had, or wishes to have until he dies, and, as she leaves him two little orphans, he begs for her as zealously as he considers her delivery difficult. To secure this I have promised him to use the strongest means, and, if it should be necessary, even to invoke the powerful authority of your Excellency, for I know that if it should not be granted, all that we have attained and which is of so much importance, would be lost, as will be seen by your Excellency, to whose worthy precepts I always live as duly subordinated as I am desirous of obeying them. May our Lord guard your most excellent person many years. San Antonio de Bexar, July 5, 1772.

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[437] The presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada, or El Orcoquizac, was founded in 1756 near the mouth of the Trinity River, on the east bank. It was abandoned by 1772. See "Introduction."

Most excellent Sir, Sir: the hand of your Excellency is kissed by your most respectful and faithful servant,

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor, Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua.

[Endorsement] To the fiscal, together with the foregoing and the letter of Dn. Athanasio de Mezieres.
Mexico, September 7, 1772. BUCARELI [rubric].

96. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY JULY 5, 1772[488]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR—SIR: Supposing that your Excellency may deign to decide to establish a presidio in the cordillera of nations which have made peace with us, in accordance with their urgent request, I must make known to you what I consider most conducive to the substantial beginning and successful outcome of this matter, which I know to be of such importance for this entire realm. I have consulted with Reverend Father Fray Pedro Ramirez, president of the interior missions, a person of learning and experience, as to the advantages of transferring the mission of Los Ais to the presidio in question, in case your Excellency should think best to erect it, not only in order that, without increase of expense the soldiers and citizens who gather there might have due spiritual care, but also to secure by good example, mild treatment, and continual intercourse, the conversion of the heathen, or at least the baptism of the infants who die, the latter being the only fruit which in so many years has been gathered from the two missions of Nacogdoches and Los Ais, near the bands of the Texas. Notwithstanding this fact, these Indians, believing that the fathers in this year's visitation were taking away those missions, made a disturbance, which it is to be feared will be the case if the missions are transferred to the neighboring nations, friends of theirs, though it is a suitable thing to do, considering that where they are these missions are superfluous. And since one father cannot subsist without the other, as the minister would be alone at such a great distance from the others, besides many other inconveniences, it is his opinion that the two fathers who now live at the two missions named should go to establish one at the presidio in question. He says, moreover, that during his long experience he has found that upon the captain and *justicia mayor* of a presidio depend both the necessary good beginnings of an establishment and its progress, religious, military, and political. He considers success very doubtful if so important a post should be put in charge of any subject of this province, and says that in case it should be he would be obliged to present himself before your Excellency with the request not to transfer his missions, to be witnesses of the disastrous results which must be expected from a bad administration. This consideration alone obliges him to present the matter with a frankness permissible only in order to avoid such irreparable injuries. He adds, therefore, that according to what his experience dictates to him and his conscience prompts him, he ought to make known that there is on, and has traded upon, the borders of this province, which is adjacent to Natchitoches, Luisiana, the person most suitable and most worthy of being honored by your Excellency with such a charge, namely, Dn. Luis de San Denis. He is a person of distinguished birth, is ex-lieutenant of the troops of his most Christian Majesty,[439] is forty years of age, is a son of Dn. Luis, formerly commandant of Natchitoches and knight of the order of Sn. Luis, is first cousin of Dn. Ygnazio Autgüil, lieutenant-general in Spain, and has other relatives of character and distinction. He is of proved Christianity, judgment, and good conduct, and is loved by the surrounding nations, who after the loss of his father[440] danced before him in preference to the commandant of the post. He is only a little short when it comes to writing, as a result of having been raised on their plantations or in a little village. But, notwithstanding the fact that his qualities are patent to all of the inhabitants of this province, I requested a report of Dn. Atanasio Demezieres, and he with the moderation and modesty suitable to the circumstance and to the fact that he is a patrician, confirms all of his good qualities, and offers on his part, if the plan carries, to select a site advantageous both for defense and for a well-favored and well-arranged settlement, as he is a mathematician. For this reason he intends to draw a map of this province, which I shall have the honor to present to your Excellency. I must report to your Excellency with due exactness and impartiality, that, according to the knowledge possessed by the citizens of Dn. Luis de Sn. Denis, whom I know only by his general reputation, I do not think that there could be found another person so fitted to assure for the presidio its most successful establishment, its best reception, and its most desirable progress in the future, both because of the standing which he has among the Indians and of the idea which they will form that Luisiana is now as much Spanish as the former, an opinion which it is so important they should have. He is versed in their languages and knows Castilian, as well as the peculiar methods of dealing with the Indians, by observing which all dealings with them are so much facilitated, just as they are disconcerted at the slightest cause when their mode of intercourse is ignored.

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[488] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 18. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 18.

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[439] At Natchitoches.

[440] For the early activities of Luis Juchereau de St. Denis in Texas and Louisiana, see the "Introduction."

This settlement might be formed at once with thirty or forty citizens of Los Adaes, in case that place should be extinguished, for, while they would not be able to subsist there, lacking the troops, at the new site they would have a fertile country, abounding in buffalo, and would have some advantage with respect to the Indians, who would in a short time become domesticated by the intercourse. All of the foregoing it is my duty, as a good servant of the King, to report to your Excellency, who will decide what best suits you, and will order me your welcome precepts, which give me so much pleasure. And may our Lord preserve the life of your Excellency as many years as he is able. San Antonio de Bexar, July 5, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: Your most respectful and affectionate servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

THE BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fr. Dn. Anto. Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

[Endorsement] Mexico, September 7, 1772. Let all be passed to the fiscal with the antecedent documents.

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97. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY JULY 6, 1772 [441]

[No. 5] MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Sir: Moved by his well-known zeal and wise conduct (which are manifested by the unceasing pains with which he watches over whatever promotes the service of both majesties) and by knowledge of the great disturbances and ruin which the Apache nation are causing on the frontiers of this kingdom, Captain Don Atanasio Demesieres asks the superior permission of your Excellency, granting that of his governor, to make a campaign against these Apaches, in company with the interior nations, at the slight cost which he makes known in the memorial which he has presented to me and which I forward to your Excellency, in order that you may deign to inform me what you think best, and, in the event

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[441] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 23. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 22. See *Document* 92.

[that you approve it], that you may permit me to set out at the same time with one hundred fifty or two hundred men, including soldiers, citizens, and mission Indians, if they can be got together, to attack the rancherías of that nation from another direction. I have no doubt we could succeed in destroying it, at least where we should strike the first blow. Your Excellency will decide in everything what you may think best, and will give me your frequent orders as to whatever may be your pleasure. May God preserve your most excellent person many years.

San Antonio de Bexar, July 6, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: Your most affectionate and faithful servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

THE BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Dn Antº Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

98. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY JULY 6, 1772 [442]

[No. 6] MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Sir: Although I know it to be of the highest importance to the service of both majesties that the lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches, Dn. Atanasio Demezieres, who combines with his natural ability and mathematical education a knowledge of these two provinces of Texas and Luisiana such as no one else possesses, as well as of the various nations which surround them, having gained the esteem of several, should go to report to your Excellency by word of mouth the solid grounds for fearing the future ruin, of this province at least, and to make duly known the remedies or doubts which may present themselves; and, although I am convinced that your

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[442] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 24. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 23.

Excellency would approve this procedure, and that his governor, at whose order he is here, would not take it amiss; yet, against my own judgment, I have refrained from sending him, because I recognize the great importance of taking steps without loss of time and with all haste to cut off the pernicious friendship which the Vidays have had for the Apaches during the last four years and which is constantly getting stronger, and to prevent the Apaches from making an alliance with the Texas. A beginning of the latter alliance was made last year when the Texas retired from here, through the especial care with which the Vidays arranged that they should come together; for when the Texas were intending to return shortly with their head chief, Sauto, with the purpose of seeking another present and of scaring the Apaches (as I am informed), knowing that the Apaches called Lipanes, to the number of fifteen hundred or more men were on the Rivers Nuezes, Frio, and Rio Grande, three or four days from this presidio, the Texas, being incomparably inferior in number, and allied and interrelated with the Vidays, were for the most part won over by the Vidays to the Apache party, for they approached them without the force necessary to defeat them, and it must have been to ratify their treaties.

This important matter could not have the desired outcome except through Dn. Athanasio Demezieres, who is arranging to set out[443] at once, although he has been sick, and to direct himself and his party of Frenchmen and five soldiers, accompanied by the Reverend Father Fray Joseph Abad de Jesus Maria, minister of the mission of Espiritu Santo, near the presidio of the same name, in search of forty-odd families of Jaranames, apostates from the mission, who have made much war on us and have served as spies and guides for the other nations. Although they all left in a body, and although they have to a large extent forgotten the faith, he goes to take all measures possible to reduce them, as well as to send word to the Texas and Vidays to await him, that he may go with an auxiliary force from the friendly nations to intimate directly to the Vidays that they must either declare war on the Apaches or against the nations friendly to us, and to require of the Texas that they shall not come to these parts without bringing a force of their allies large enough to be able, with probability, to destroy any rancherías of the Apaches they may encounter. In the successful accomplishment of this commission M. Demezieres will, I doubt not, perform a great service. And in order that your Excellency may be pleased to make known to me your precepts, I repeat that I am at your service, and beg our Lord to preserve your important life many years. San Antonio de Bexar, July 6, 1772.

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[443] He left San Antonio on the twelfth or the thirteenth of July. See *Documents* 101 and 106.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: your most respectful and affectionate servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

THE BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Dn. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

99. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY
JULY 6, 1772[444]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR—SIR: Having reported to your Excellency my fears that the Nations of the North, with whom we are now at peace, would come to be fond of the injurious English trade and of English goods, I am now under the painful necessity of reporting to your Excellency that it has become well known to Captain Dn. Atanasio Demezieres that this has unfortunately come to pass through the Panis-mahas, a numerous nation situated near the Missuris, who have brought to the Tauayas guns and ammunition in exchange for horses. To this trade contributed an Indian, christianized in Quebec and very well versed in French, who, as well as two of the Panis-mahas, has come here with the Tauayas. From this beginning must result such fatal consequences as are set forth in the well-grounded representation which the commandant of Natchitoches has made to me, and which I transmit to the hands of your Excellency, on whose great zeal and clear discernment I have founded my hope of the effective remedy demanded by a contagion as pernicious as it will be open and irremediable in the future, unless by some means it is crushed out at once. This M. Demezieres has already wisely tried to do, so far as he could, by effecting the removal of the villages, which some of the nations have promised, particularly one of the Tauaias, which had received these English goods. In this way they would be farther away [from the trade], and in the cordon with the rest of their nation and other friends. Their chiefs have made very urgent requests to take with them at least four or five Spaniards, to remain for a time in their village, in order that all of the people of their tribes may observe the true friendship and union which we now maintain with them, as though we were one and the same nation, and to be witnesses of their conduct, as well as of the transfer of these villages to the places promised. They have obliged me to promise to order that five soldiers should go from Los Adaes for the purpose, to remain in their villages until they are established in the cordon, and to accompany them until they are placed upon lands suitable for the presidio which they desire as greatly as I consider it important to us, not only to keep those nations quiet, subjugate the Comancha, castigate the Apache, and cause them to love us through continual intercourse, but also to prevent the invasions which are to be expected from the nations protected by the English and in time of war from the English themselves. As I have made known to your Excellency, this, by affording these Indian people trade in guns and ammunition, will have results as favorable as they will be disastrous if trade is denied them, or if they are allowed to supply themselves from the English so advantageously. All of this, in fulfillment of my duty, I ought to make known to your Excellency's distinguished comprehension, begging that you may be assured of the sincere zeal which inspires my representation, that you may be pleased to order me whatever may be most to your pleasure, and that God may preserve your most excellent person as many years as he can.

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[444] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 26. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 24.

San Antonio de Bexar, July 6, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: Your most affectionate and faithful servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

THE BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Dⁿ Antº Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

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100. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY JULY 7, 1772 [445]

[No. 7] MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Sir: Last night as I was about to despatch these letters to overtake the convoy which is going for maize to the presidio of Rio Grande, I received word from the corporal whom I sent to prevent the Apaches from killing cattle belonging to these ranches, to the effect that while they were reconnoitering the country that day they found a dead beef animal, and that going with nine men he encountered about fifteen Apaches making jerked beef, whom he ordered captured in order to bring them prisoners. They faced about and shot arrows at the soldiers. Thereupon the corporal ordered his men to fire, and they killed two of the Apaches; the rest fled leaving thirty horses and some loads of meat already jerked, besides several beeves killed. Returning to the ranch of Captain Menchaca, he sent the foregoing word. In consequence, since I had only thirty-four soldiers, destined to escort Don Atanacio Demezieres over this part of the journey, and a band of horses from outside, all [of ours] having gone, and since I do not know whether the reverend fathers presidents have furnished any Indians from their missions, as I have asked them to do, I have ordered the captain of Orcoquiza, who goes in charge of said troop, whose business it is and who dealt with the Apaches in the time of Parrilla, that when he should reach the ranchería to which the trail leads, he should reprimand them cautiously and without bluster, in my name, telling them how angry I am at them for the robberies which we have suffered at their hands, and for the damages which they cause among the cattle of La Bahia and of these ranches; that since we do them no injury they ought not to injure us; that they should tell us what they think; that if they continue we have plenty of men to punish them, and a king who will send more if they are needed; that they can plainly see that I have not told the interior nations to attack them, but that if they do not mend their ways I will do so, and will punish them severely. If said captain finds them quiet, he is to order those named to go for the horses and to take these letters, he retiring to the presidio; but that if they should resist he is to do what he can, going ahead as fast as possible and continuing to the Rio Grande to escort the convoy; and he is also to promise them the freedom of a heathen whom we have in prison here if his chief comes and promises to make amends. This being everything which up to the present occurs to me to place before the attention of your Excellency, whose frequent orders I desire, I beg that our Lord may prosper your life many years. San Antonio de Bexar, July 7, 1772.

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[445] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 39. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 41.

Most excellent Sir, Sir, the hand of your Excellency is kissed by your most affectionate and respectful servant. EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Don Antonio Maria Bucarely y Ursua.

101. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY

AUGUST 2, 1772 [446]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR — SIR: The four letters dated the sixteenth of June which I have the honor to receive from your Excellency, leave me with the satisfaction due for the favor you show me by approving my provisions and measures to secure the peace with the Nations of the North, which is of such interest to us that I have continued to apply the most effective means to perfect it. Your Excellency will have noted from my former letters, dated the third and the fifth of the last month, the coming of different nations, the ratification of treaties, the granting of that of the Comanches by a chief held in the greatest respect in the nation, who said at once that he could not answer for his dispersed and large nation, and other matters.

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[446] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 41. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 42.

Dn. Atanasio Demezieres set out on the thirteenth of the past month with a father minister and eight soldiers in search of the Jaranames, apostates for many years from the mission of Espíritu Santo, as well as to cause to come here the nation of the Tancaues, who have not even been here to ratify the treaties with me, and to prevent the Texas from ratifying treaties with the Apaches, which they are about to do very soon. This last nation provided that four chiefs should go with numerous people to the Colorado River, the point where Captain Sauto ought to emerge with his Texas and the obnoxious nation of the Vidays, to hold their assembly, which I hope M. Demezieres will break up. He may be able to do this successfully, especially if he receives a letter which I have directed to him by the very Viday who went as a messenger of the Apaches to call this assembly. One of Demezieres's principal objects was to oblige the Vidays to declare war against the Apaches or against us and the nations who are our friends. Up to the present these latter are keeping the promised peace, excepting the Comanches, who keep us disturbed by stealing our droves of horses. They having run off the larger part of the drove belonging to the mission of San Joseph, a lieutenant with the twenty soldiers, who were here at the time, are now in pursuit of them; but they have no hope of recovering them, because of the great advantage which they derived from the carelessness of the Indians of the missions. But I have had the good fortune that, having very urgently requested from the governor of Coahuila the wife of the principal chief of the Tauayas, whom the Apaches captured and sold to the Spaniards of that province, he should send her to me with the convoy of maize. I have her in my house ready to deliver or send to her husband at the first opportunity, hoping that she may be the key that shall open the way to our treaties.

I reiterate to your Excellency the due respect and affection with which I desire to render obedience to your welcome precepts. May our Lord preserve your excellent person the many years which are so important to me. San Antonio de Bexar, August 2, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: your most affectionate and respectful servant kisses the hand of your Excellency.

El Baron de Ripperda [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Antº Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

102. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY AUGUST 2, 1772[447]

Most excellent Sir—Sir: Having merited from your Excellency that you should deign to keep in mind my proposal to establish a fort between the Guadalupe and San Marcos Rivers,[448] to cover the entrance of the Nations of the North to this presidio and that of La Bahia, I ought to inform your Excellency that if the establishment of a presidio in the cordon, which the nations recently become friendly ought to form, should come to pass, as they request and with the efficiency and importance which I have represented to your Excellency, then the former presidio would not be necessary. But a pueblo protected by a small garrison or detachment would be very important and useful so long as the Comanche nation continues to commit depredations upon us. In view of the beautiful location of the place, which is well stocked with cattle, and of its convenience for lending a hand to this presidio, it would form a sta-tion on the way to the presidio planned, and the latter, one on the way to Luisiana.

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[447] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 43. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 43.

[448] The date of this proposal is not known to the editor.

Your Excellency will know what is best, all things considered, and will please give me your esteemed orders, which I covet, while I beg God to preserve your excellent person many years. San Antonio de Bexar, August 2, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: the hand of your Excellency is kissed by your most affectionate and respectful servant.

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

[Endorsement] Mexico, September 16, 1772. Add these letters and documents of the governor of the province of Tejas to those which he sent under the date of April 28 of this year,[449] and send them all to the office of my Superior Government, where they belong, in order that the proper summary may be made. This done, let a report be made, in order that a *junta* may be called; likewise send to the fiscal a copy of the ordinances and instructions which he asks for in his opinion of the thirty-first of last July. BUCARELI [rubric].

103. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA AUGUST 20, 1772[450]

[No. 4] SEÑOR GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

Sir: Father Fray Joseph Abad, of the College de Propaganda Fide of Sacatexas, being informed that I had gathered a large number of Xaraname Indians, fugitives and apostates from the mission of Espiritu Santo, decided to come with me to dedicate himself to their conversion and to induce them to return to their old home. With this in view, since I could not accompany him further than to the Texas, or Acinays, where I found the Biday chiefs, with whom I had to discuss a serious matter at length, I decided that my interpreter and Don Nicolas Layssard[451] should proceed in my place with the reverend father. They continued with felicity, and the important purpose of the journey of the apostolic man would have been accomplished if he had been more patient, as I had well admonished him to be, and had he not wished to dispel miraculously by five or six days' preaching an apostasy of more than ten years. The result is that the Xaranaméz have already deserted their minister; but perhaps the Lord will be pleased to entrust these unhappy and strayed sheep to the care of a pastor who, if not more zealous, is at least more persevering.

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[449] See *Document* 86.

[450] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

May God spare the important life of your Lordship the many years which I desire. Natchitoches, August 20, 1772.

Señor Governor-general, I kiss the hand of your Lordship. Your most humble servant and faithful subject.

ATHAN^IO DE MEZIERES [rubric].

Señor Brigadier and Governor-general.

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104. DE MEZIERES TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA AUGUST 20, 1772[452]

[No. 5] SEÑOR GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

SIR: The Baron de Ripperda having sent me a messenger with the news, dated the twenty-fifth of the month past, that the four Apache chiefs were going with a large number of their people to the Bidais and Acinais to ratify the pernicious treaties which they had entered into with them, and, under the shelter of these treaties, to continue with them the injurious commerce in firearms and munitions of war, I at once sent a message to the chiefs of these Bidais and Acinais nations, urging them not to lose so propitious an occasion to fulfill the promise which they have given me, and to avail themselves of feigned friendship in order to prevent any of the mentioned Apaches from leaving their hands alive. In consequence of this advice they have invited all the neighboring villages to gather and aid them. The latter have decided to set out at once, and I expect a favorable report very soon.

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[451] Nephew of De Mézières. See *Document* 105.

[452] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

In view of the report which I have formerly given your Lordship of the insults of the Apachéz (who have recently razed a flourishing mining camp in La Nueva Estremadura,[453] which borders on the province of Los Texas) I hope that your Lordship will not take ill the trickery to which I, in agreement with the said Señor Baron, resort to repress the audacity of these ferocious and indomitable Indians; for, says the poet, "*Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat.*"* This maxim cannot be followed with people who prove themselves inhuman, without offending humanity, especially in the critical circumstance of their seeking and succeeding in the alliance (if it be not prevented) and in getting the munitions, which, by making them almost invincible, would give more rein to their fury and complete our misfortunes.

May God preserve the important life of your Lordship the many years which he can and which I desire. Natchitoches, August 20, 1772.

Señor Governor-general, I kiss the hand of your Lordship. Your most humble servant and faithful subject.

ATHAN^{IO} DE MEZIERES [rubric].

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[453] Coahuila.

* "Whether it be craft or valor, who would ask in dealing with a foe?"

105. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE VICEROY AUGUST 25, 1772[454]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR—SIR: Having reported to your Excellency that the Reverend Father Abad de Jesus Maria, minister of the mission of El Espiritu Santo, had set out with the captain of infantry Dn Atanasio Demezieres, lieutenant of the post of Natchitoches, Luisiana, six leagues distant from Los Adaes, I must inform your Excellency that they went with the intention of going to the Tancaues nation to induce them to come here, as the rest of the neighboring tribes have done, to ratify the treaties. They intended to continue to the Tauacana nation where were the Jaranames, apostates for some years past from the mission of El Espiritu Santo, to the number of sixty men, about forty women, and some children, to try to secure their conversion by gentle means, but with little hope of succeeding. The father was to return with them, and Demezieres was to go with some men of the friendly nations to the Vidays to force them to declare war against the Apaches or against us and our allies, on account of the continual trade which for years past they have carried on in arms and ammunition. He was to influence the Texas not to come to Bexar, as they were intending to do, alone—for their small force would cause them to ratify the treaty which for the same reason they were obliged to make last year—but to unite with larger forces, and thus be able to make an attack upon the Apaches.

But I now have a letter which the reverend father sends me from the mission of Nacodogches, telling me that he had continued in company of Demecieres as far as the Texa nation, where they found the Vidays also.

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[454] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 46. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 45.

The place is near Nacodogches and nearly two hundred leagues from here by the direct road from Los Adays and Natchitoches, whither he [De Mézières] went with two soldiers and some Frenchmen because of some urgent business, leaving his nephew, the French interpreter,[455] and six soldiers for the father, that he might go to the Tauacanas to get the apostates, which he did, although by a circuitous route and without success. For, being tenderly chided by the father, the leaders among them replied with insolence, and even with threats of coming to carry off or even to kill those of their nation who remain in the mission. Nevertheless, he remained there seven days, when they began to file out for the other village of the Tauacanas on the upper Brazos River, where a large gathering of Indians of the friendly nations was being formed.

The father considered their treaty to be insincere, and was very certain of the existence of an excessive trade between the inhabitants of Luisiana and these nations in guns, ammunition, and other articles used by the Indians. He suspects that Demezieres is interested in this trade, and thinks that the matter might be remedied if he, the father, should go to inform the governor of New Orleans, for which he asks [my] permission and the license of his president, and, in case it is not granted, leave to retire to his college of Guadalupe de Zacatecas. I have discussed the matter with the reverend president, and with the president of [the missions] of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, who in the main follows the opinion of the said father. Therefore they concluded that he should go to see the said governor, if he regards it so necessary, bearing a letter from me, in which I give him to understand that I suspend my judgment for the reason that it is difficult to learn the truth, because of the prejudice of those who might know. But, considering especially that in this province commerce is not permitted as it is in that, even with Spain, and considering, besides the fact that Texas does not engage in trade as does Louisiana, the slight esteem which the heathen have for its inhabitants – knowing as they do that they get no advantage except the opportunity to steal its droves of horses – this complicity may be inferred. Indeed, it may be inferred from antecedents alone, as well as from the consequences which we see. With respect to the antecedents, there is no doubt that M. Demezieres has been established for many years in Natchitoches; that during his early manhood he made many sojourns among the heathen nations; or that he traded with them while the province was ruled by France. As to the consequences, we see the nations with a large supply of guns, ammunition, and other goods, all French, and the great number of guns which the Viday nation has supplied to the Apaches for the last four years, and which, it may be inferred, they acquired in the same way.

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[455] Nicolas Layssard. See *Document* 103.

This trade with the Apaches is as disadvantageous to us as it might be advantageous if conducted with the tribes newly become friendly, as long as they continue to be such. I understand, although not authoritatively, that the most excellent Señor Conde de O'Reyli provided that there should be supplied annually a definite quantity of guns and ammunition to the Cadodachos (as formerly was allowed by the most Christian king) on the ground of the fidelity which that nation has maintained and now maintains; but it would not be just that this quantity should be exceeded.

I ought to inform your Excellency that Demecieres is a distinguished man from Paris, who appears very honorable and desirous to prove his honor and make known his zeal in the service of his new monarch; that the nations recently become friends are now quiet and have been ever since they promised to be so, with the exception of the stealing of horses, which even the Comanches are guilty of, and which not even the chief of that nation who made the treaty doubted, because of the difficulty in subjecting them, they being so dispersed and so far apart. Indeed, even the Tancaues have not come to ratify with me the peace which they also made in Adaes and Natchitoches, and not one has been seen since.

The convoy which went in to Los Adaes with the English[486] and which passed through the Texas and Vidais at the same time that Demezieres parted with the father mentioned, returned a few days ago, and a citizen of veracity tells me that he was informed that Demezieres had talked with the principal captains of the Vidays, trying to break up their friendship for the Apaches; and with the Texas, to prevent them from becoming their friends. And all tell me, on the part of the great captain of the Texas, called Sauto, to whom I have made goodly gifts, that they knew there was a large concourse of Indians of this Apache nation slaughtering buffalo, half way to this presidio, and that the Texas did not intend to come to deal with them, but that Sauto was awaiting to hear whether I wished him to come and attack them, since unless they were our enemies they would not be theirs.

The first assemblage, which Demezieres made of some of the nations who were at war with us, was in the autumn of 'seventy at Los Cadodachos. He was accompanied by the reverend father minister of the mission of

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[486] The reference is not to the Acadians, who went overland in 1769, but to the party of English sailors picked up later.

Los Adaes and curate of the presidio and by some soldiers of the latter. They returned with complaints of the commerce which they had seen in Cadodachos and of worse results which they expected, since the nation did not agree to peace, but were only summoned for the next year. Concerning this my lieutenant drew up judicial proceedings in Los Adaes, which, with the report of the same Demezieres, quite at variance with them, I sent to your Excellency's distinguished predecessor, to whom the governor of Luisiana transmitted the documents presented to him by Demezieres, complaining of the somewhat scandalous discord which, for the foregoing reason,[457] had been caused between the father and my lieutenant, whom your Excellency ordered me to require to make amends to Demezieres suitable to his rank.

I have seen fit to molest your Excellency with this prolix report in order that you may be informed of everything [reported] as well as of what has been done. I do not think it wise to change in any respect our present method of dealing with the nations, whose friendship will be firmer the more they are dealt with. Therefore I consider very desirable the presidio which they ask for, and have already reported to your Excellency that, if you approve of it, I have decided, at their request, to send five soldiers of Los Adaes for a time to the villages of the new friends to see to the union of one village of Tauayas in the cordon with another of the same tribe, as they promised. I am impatiently awaiting letters from Demezieres which, I have no doubt, will state the true reasons for what he has done.

Your Excellency can see how diverse are the opinions and reports which different men give of affairs and will understand the very serious injuries which usually result from these differences. But I know that I should hide nothing from your Excellency, and that with your clear discernment you will give to the various opinions due weight and to me your welcome orders which I desire, as well as that our Lord may prosper the most excellent person of your Excellency many years.

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[457] This discord is referred to in *Documents* 70 and 74, and in *footnote* 241.

San Antonio de Bexar, August 25, 1772.

Most excellent Sir, Sir: your most respectful and faithful servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

THE BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Most excellent Señor Fray Anto. Maria Bucareli y Ursua.

106. THE BARON DE RIPPERDA TO UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA, SEPTEMBER 8, 1772 [488]

MY DEAR SIR: By the letter carried by the lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches, Don Atanasio Demeçieres, I informed your Lordship that he set out from here on the twelfth [489] of July in company with Fray Joseph Abad, minister of the mission of Espíritu Santo, adjacent to the presidio of the same name in this province, with the intention of going by way of the Tancaùes to induce them to ratify the treaties, like the rest of the surrounding nations, and of continuing to the Tauacanes, where there were more than sixty Jaranames, apostates from the same mission, who for some years back have caused grave damages in these presidios by directing the nations in their robberies and atrocities, to try to secure their conversion anew. Now I have to inform your Lordship that, not being able to go directly to the Tancaùes and Tauacanes, and learning when among the Texas the news of a great sorrow in his home, he went directly thither, leaving his nephew and the interpreter to go with four soldiers in company with the reverend father named, although now by a roundabout way, on his enterprise to the Taùacanes. He found his apostates there, but they were so bold that they answered his loving and apostolic suggestions with the greatest rudeness. The one who acts as their chief told him that they would not return alive or rather that they would return to seek those of their nation who remained in the mission, and that if they would not follow them they would kill them and carry off their women and children. Notwithstanding the fact that he gave them the provisions which he carried, they scorned his tobacco, as did the Tauacanes, on account of the abundant supply which they had from that province; and after he had remained with them seven days they took flight, all going to the other pueblo of the Tauacanes. The father returned to the mission of Nacodogches, which is very near to the Texas, whence he despatched me two of the soldiers of his escort to convey this news and to ask permission to go down to inform your Lordship by word of mouth of his little faith in the stability of these treaties, since the Tauacanes did not lend him force to coerce his apostates, according to the promise of the nations that they would deliver up all whom they might have, and to report the excessive commerce which he noted in this nation, especially in guns and munitions, and which he knows is carried on in all the nations, by the inhabitants of the province in your Lordship's charge; for he could find no other remedy for so great a danger to these presidios as was disclosed by these circumstances. Of the same opinion, in the main, were these reverend fathers presidents, with whom I discussed the matter more than once, and I consented, reporting the decision to the most excellent Señor Viceroy, taking advantage of the opportunity to do so which presented itself at the time. But I took due care to inform him as to what happened the first time that Don Atanasio Demeçieres, in company with the Reverend Father Santa María, assembled some of the chiefs of the enemies in Los Cadodachos, concerning the results of which my lieutenant at Los Adaes took some testimony, as well as of the events which followed, as your Lordship knows, and of the decision given by his excellent predecessor. I stated at the same time that this M. Demeçieres is a well born and able man, and desirous of proving himself zealous in the service of his new monarch, from all of which it would be expected that he would deceive in nothing. But I had no suggestion to offer, except that we should continue without alteration the method which we were pursuing with the nations, since all were quiet except the Comanches, to keep whom quiet it was always difficult, at least for more than a short time, because of their distance away and of their dispersion. All this I likewise make known to your Lordship. With respect to the trade in guns and ammunition which those inhabitants carry on with the nations, although I have not the necessary information regarding the provision made by the most excellent Señor Conde de O Reylli, yet believing that it consists only in an annual assignment of guns and ammunition to the Cadodachos, it seems strange to us that they should exceed this, reaching out now as never before to the nations who live in this province, whence the goods pass to the hands of the Apaches, with great injury to the frontiers of this kingdom. I hope that M. Demeçieres will remedy this through the Vidays, by obliging them to declare themselves enemies of the Apaches. And your Lordship, as you know what you ought to permit, will likewise know what needs correction and prohibition, as well as the method by which it should be effected, remembering that if trade should be prohibited among the nations accustomed to receive in abundance what is so much to their interest and they should become irritated the results might be worse, and that if they should find means to supply themselves through the English they would without doubt be most lamentable and even irremediable. These obstacles being reflected upon by these reverend fathers presidents, and it being known that Don Atanasio Demeçieres offers to accompany Father Abad, with your Lordship's permission, to repeat the attempt to reduce his apostates, as soon as he is free from the ague and the weaknesses with which he is afflicted, encouraging him to remain for this purpose in the mission of Nacodogches until he succeeds in it, according to his reply to the letter which this religious wrote him from El Tauacana, these reverend presidents, in accord with me, have agreed that the father should remain in Nacodogches and not go down to molest your Lordship until notification of his expedition is had from M. Demecieres, to whom I am reporting this decision. And I beg that your Lordship will grant him your permission for a work which will so greatly serve God and the king.

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[488] Bancroft Coll., Louisiana.

[489] Compare *Document* 101, where the date is given as the thirteenth.

Recently there arrived from Los Adaes five soldiers with the letters of Don Atanasio Demeçieres, a resident of Los Adaes and his wife coming with them. About two days this side of the Texas they were attacked by fourteen Tauayas and Ouachitas, among them being a petty but diabolical chief of the latter nation who was here with the people of his tribe to ratify the treaties. Being on the way to steal the horseherd of the Vidays, they surrounded our people and attempted to kill them, or at least the woman, but succeeded only in taking from them nine choice horses (including even some of those which they were riding), the provisions, four saddle-blankets, the bridle, the *anquera*,[480] the knapsacks of the woman's horse, and even the rosaries which they wore around their necks. That their lives and the rest of their belongings were spared was attributed to the coming among them of a person who speaks French, and who was with M. Demeçieres (of whom one of the soldiers was feigned to be the nephew), and his giving them to understand that five of our soldiers had gone with presents for their chiefs, which is the truth. At this juncture one of the Indians whom Father Abad took with him from his mission and whom he had sent with the soldiers, fled. He encountered five apostate Jaranames who were in the band, and they pursued him until his horse ran away with his belongings and the letters of the father, the Indian saving himself on foot. I am reporting this occurrence to M. Demeçieres, in order that if he can he may secure due satisfaction for the bad faith which they manifest with regard to the treaty, in which we otherwise cannot put confidence. I have had here for several days the wife of the chief of these Tauayas, who, having been captured by the Apaches, was sold to the Spaniards in the province of Coahuila. When it became known to her husband, he importuned me and appealed to M. Demeçieres to have her ransomed, which I effected through the governor of the province named. But I do not believe sufficient all that we have spent in their entertainment, or the great amount which it is costing me at this writing, while it is all ill-requited. Truly we are dealing with barbarians, and for that reason we must make many allowances. I trust that your Lordship will be assured of my desire to serve you, and that we may proceed in harmony and as good neighbors in whatever may be for the service of both majesties; and I beg that the divine Majesty may preserve the life of your Lordship many years. San Antonio de Bexar, September 8, 1772.

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[480] In Mexico this word is used for the round covering for the hind quarters of a horse.

The hand of your Lordship is kissed by your most attentive and affectionate servant.

EL BARON DE RIPPERDA [rubric].

Señor Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga.

107. THE VICEROY TO THE BARON DE RIPPERDA
SEPTEMBER 16, 1772 [461]

I have received the letters of your Lordship dated the twenty-eighth of last April, the sixth of July, and the second of August following; and, in view of all that you set forth in them, I can for the present only say to your Lordship that you must try scrupulously to keep the new treaties of peace solemnized with the Nations of the North, not injuring them unless they give cause, and that you must employ all the means which you consider adapted to perpetuate this policy, and to induce the Indians to settle in formal villages, enter upon a semicivilized life,[462] and subject themselves to the authority of our sovereign.

With these principles in mind, and knowing the little faith which should be put in a class of enemies who, at the same time that they promise their friendship, continue their insults and robberies, it seems to me well to divert them with treaties, punishing however, those who slaughter cattle in and infest our lands, whether they be the friendly nations or the Apaches. Therefore your

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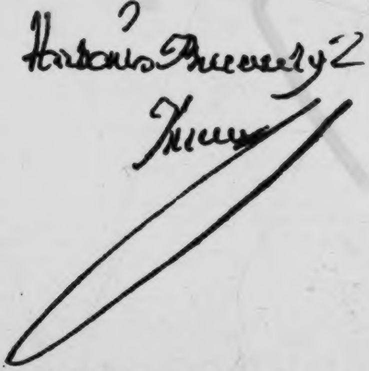
[461] *Prov. Int.*, vol. 20, f. 44. Also in *Historia*, vol. 51, f. 44.

[462] This utterance is predicated on the Spanish theory of colonial policy, in which the reduction of Indians to villages and their civilization were of fundamental importance.

Lordship may provide that the parties which ought to set out from the presidios to reconnoiter, shall examine the places by which the Indians come in, in order that, by occupying their avenues, it will be easy to surprise them on their ingress or egress, and to wrest from them the captives which they may have taken. As a consequence they will undertake their irruptions with less insolence and more fear.

The offensive war against the Apaches demands separate consideration; and in order not to make dispositions at a venture nor disturb the tranquillity which has actually been experienced up to the present in that province (since all of the insults of the enemies have consisted in the stealing of droves of horses, which a lack of watchfulness or excessive confidence may have permitted), it is necessary to deal with these matters with much prudence, deliberation, and reflection, and thus, while, in view of your Lordship's proposals, it is being decided in a *junta de guerra y hacienda* what is best, you should guide yourself by the advice given above, and should order Dn. Atanacio de Mezieres to retire to his presidio of Natchitoches, to perform there what he may have been ordered by the governor of Luisiana, to whom he may report his observations; and in case those which he has reported to your Lordship



[Facsimile of the signature of Viceroy Bucarely y Ursua. From the original in the Béxar Archives]

should be considered useful, you should take timely advantage of them.

God, etc., Mexico, September 16, 1772.
Señor Baron de Ripperda [rubric].

[Endorsement] Mexico, September 16, 1772. To the Baron de Ripperda, at Bexar, replying to the letters of April 28, July 6, and August 2, last, to the effect that for the present all that can be said is that he must try to maintain the new treaties solemnized with the nations.

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